

**HISTORUM'S QUARTERLY HISTORY JOURNAL**



**VOLUME ONE - NUMBER THREE - 2012**



1.

### **Historum the quarterly journal**

consists of the best writing from the **Historum** web site, an English language history forum whose membership is composed of history aficionados from all corners of this event filled globe we call home.

2.

Now that this journal is a reality we leave it to Historians to look at this accident and prove that it was inevitable. *[that's an old joke]*

3.

We find agreeable these words of jurist Lewis Powell, "History balances the frustration of 'how far we have to go' with the satisfaction of 'how far we have come.' It teaches us tolerance for the human shortcomings and imperfections which are not uniquely of our generation, but of all time."

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Again we say thanks for all the positive comments on our efforts. Those 'that-a-boys' keep us going and fuel our creative engine. And while I am at it don't be shy about recommending your own articles to us. If you don't blow your own horn who will? Any one out there interested in writing a column? Pitch it our way... you'll find we are pretty easy to get along with.

Thanks  
*Pedro*



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## and lots of other interesting stuff

in no particular order

because we couldn't figure out how to number pages,  
and because we know browsing is half the fun.



Historum the Journal is a joint production of  
Mountain Top Publishing and  
Historum, the premier internet history forum  
and a whole gang of great history buffs.



# a message from the editorial staff

Well now! We've made it to a third issue, and did it without anyone throwing rocks at us. (Come on folks, are you really trying?)

You may notice a slightly different graphic feel in this issue, especially if you compare it with issue number one. Like most enterprises our first attempts were what is known as the buckshot method.

Which is to say we aimed at nothing in order to hit everything. This issue has more emphasis on articles and less on departments. Whether this is a trend or not time will tell. As will your contributions. And thanks for those.

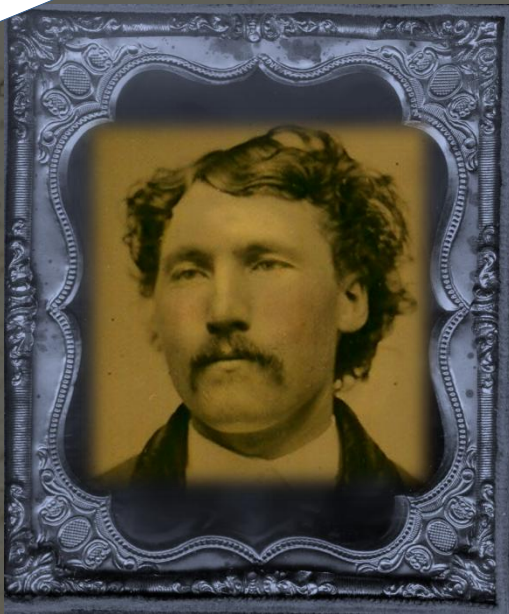
In the meantime: ENJOY!

An **optimist**  
may see a light where there is  
none, but why must the  
**pessimist** always run to  
blow it out?



**René Descartes**

by uncledred



# Wild Bill Hickok vs Dave Tutt, Mano a Mano

When the Civil War broke out in April 1861, James Butler Hickok was living in Kansas, where he was about to terminate his employment as a stage driver with Jones & Cartwright freighting company. In July, he was involved in the famous fight at Rock Creek, Nebraska Territory, where he became involved in the "McCanles Massacre" during which he was alleged by pulp writers to have killed ten men in hand-to-hand combat. In actuality, only three men died and there is doubt and argument over how many Hickok actually killed. In the fall of 1861, James Hickok signed on as a teamster for the Union Army at Sedalia, Missouri, and by the end of the year he was a wagonmaster.





Hickok remained in that position until September 1862, then disappears for almost a year before he turns up at Springfield as a member of the 'detective police', employed by the Provost Marshal of Southwest Missouri. The missing period is still under investigation by historians looking for evidence to provide details of his alleged missions into Confederate territory as a spy.

It was at the end of the Civil War that Hickok was generally called "Wild Bill." Those who served with him or knew him well, claimed that this was because of his actions against Confederate guerrillas and for his exploits as a scout and spy, according to Hickok historian James Rosa.

As a detective, Hickok had his share of hazardous moments, but at other times his duties included visits to saloons within the city of Springfield to note the number of troops in uniform who were drinking on duty, or to check on the

owners to see if they had liquor licenses. Other tasks involved long treks to places as far away as Little Rock, Arkansas, to arrest or obtain sums of money from individuals in debt to the Union. On one occasion he and some other policemen were not paid. Hickok then resigned or, perhaps, was ordered by General Sanborn, in command of the District, to report to him, who then hired him as a scout. Paid five dollars a day, Hickok was provided with a horse and equipment. In later years, the general wrote that he was the best man he had.



In June 1865, Hickok was mustered out, and he spent some time in the city gambling. It was during this time that he and Davis K. Tutt, a former Confederate soldier, became friends and were noted gamblers.

*and their testimony by me included to writing*

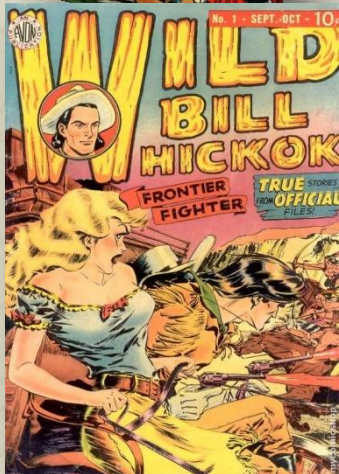
According to Rosa, "On July 20, 1865, the pair fell out over a game of cards, which left Hickok in debt to Tutt who took his prized Waltham watch as security for payment. Tutt claimed that Hickok owed him \$35 but Wild Bill said it was only \$25 since he had paid him the other \$10 some days before. Tutt, according to the stories circulated later, said that he would sport Hickok's watch on Public Square the next afternoon, and Hickok told him that if he did it would become a shooting matter.

At 6 p.m. on the 21st, Tutt appeared with the watch and Hickok advised him not to cross the square. Dave's response was to draw his pistol and open fire on him. Wild Bill drew and shot Tutt through the heart. Arrested and charged with manslaughter, Hickok was put on trial and was found not guilty on his plea of self-defense. From then on it was up to the legend builders, and a number of local and distant liars, but Hickok's reputation as both a pistol shot and gunfighter was firmly established."

Indeed, considered one of the few instances of real life Hollywood gunfights, it has become legend.

There, the matter might have rested, and this is the story I have always read, until a remarkable discovery in the early 1990's of the original Coroner's Inquest Report into the death of Davis K. Tutt at the hands of James B. Hickok. Delbert Bishop, the newly appointed Archivist of the Illinois' Greene County Archive was determined to search the large number of boxes stored in parts of the building. He was assisted by Robert Neumann, and between them they discovered many documents relative to Hickok, but the most important find was the Coroner's Inquest record.

Not only did it set the record straight, but the report divulged that witnesses claimed that neither Hickok nor Tutt wanted the fight, and it is still unknown why Tutt actually pulled his pistol on Hickok.

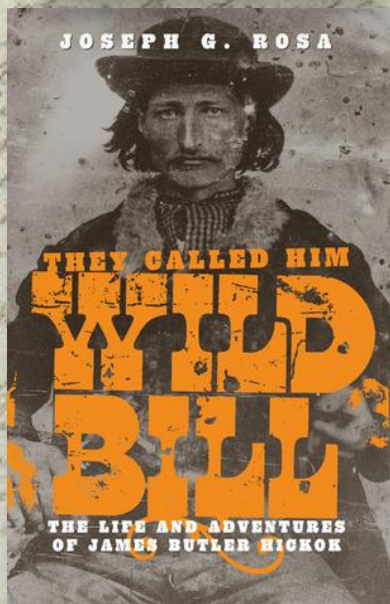
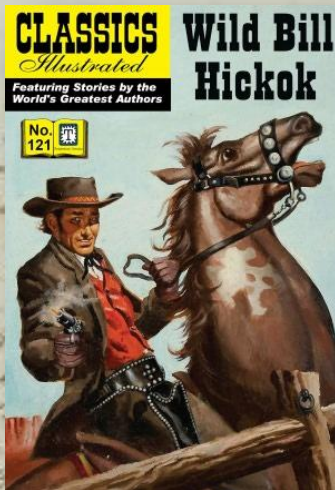




Witnesses stated that friends of both men had spent some hours during the morning and afternoon of July 21 trying to persuade Dave to accept Hickok's version of events, and one stated that Hickok said that he would rather have a fight with any man on earth rather than Tutt, saying "He has accommodated me more than any man in town for I have borrowed money from him time and again, and we have never had any dispute before in our settlement."

Tutt agreed and said that he did not want any trouble either, but after a drink he left and later appeared outside the Court House prepared to cross the square. Hickok then told him not to enter the square, but Dave set off, pulled his pistol and fired. Hickok also drew and fired, both shots sounding like one according to several of the witnesses. Dave missed, but Hickok's ball went through his heart. This differs from the traditional stories of Hickok waiting for Tutt's shot and then firing.

A doctor examined the body and declared that the ball from Hickok's pistol had entered at his fifth rib on the right side and exited through the fifth rib on the left, passing through his heart. This meant that Tutt was standing sideways, duelling fashion. By actual measurement, based upon old city maps, they were 75 yards apart when they opened fire, which shows that Hickok's reputation as a marksman was not ill founded.



*Mr. Clark - And the witnesses being sworn  
and their testimony by me recorded to writing*

# Obituaries as HISTORY

## Gertrude Stein

Dies In France, 72

By Wireless to

THE NEW YORK TIMES

July 28, 1946

PARIS, July 27--Gertrude Stein, famed woman writer and one of the most controversial figures of American letters, died at 6:30 o'clock tonight (Paris time) at the American Hospital in Neuilly, a suburb of Paris. Her age was 72. She had been suffering from cancer and had been in the hospital about a week.

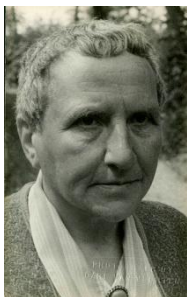
PARIS, July 27 (U.P.)--Death came to Miss Stein one hour after she had entered a coma. Doctors worked for an hour to revive her.

At the bedside were Miss Alice B. Toklas, Miss Stein's nephew and niece and a physician identified only as Colonel Rogers.

The body was removed to the hospital's chapel. Funeral arrangements will be delayed until after the writer's relatives in the United States have been notified.

[Writers said recently that Miss Stein had planned to return to the United States in the autumn, according to The Associated Press.]

Miss Stein's nurse declared that the author had been seriously ill for a considerable time, suffering from a run-down condition. The first indication that she had taken a turn for the worse, the nurse added, was a telephone call from the hospital this afternoon saying that her condition had become suddenly grave.



### Emphasized Sound in Language

Although Gertrude Stein could and did write intelligibly at times, her distinction rested on her use of words apart from their conventional meaning. Her emphasis on sound rather than sense is illustrated by her oft-quoted "A rose is a rose is a rose." \*

Devotees of her cult professed to find her restoring a pristine freshness and rhythm to language. Medical authorities compared her effusions to the rantings of the insane. The Hearst press inquired, "Is Gertrude Stein not Gertrude Stein but somebody else living and talking in the same body?" Sinclair Lewis concluded she was conducting a racket.

Born Feb. 3, 1874, in Allegheny, Pa., the daughter of Daniel Stein, who was vice president of a street railway, and Amelia Keyser Stein, she spent her infancy in Vienna and Paris, and her childhood in Oakland and San Francisco. She was, in her own words, "an omnivorous reader, going through whole libraries, reading everything.?"

\*Editors note: She wrote the phrase without the article 'A', meaning it to read *Rose is a rose is a rose*.

## Pupil of William James

From 1893 to 1897 she was a student at Radcliffe College, where "like almost everyone else I wanted to be a writer but nobody encouraged me much." Miss Stein was, however, a favorite pupil of William James and specialized in psychology. When she sat down to write her final examination for him, she was tired, having been to the opera the night before. "Dear Professor James," she wrote on her paper, "I am so sorry but I do not feel a bit like an examination paper in philosophy today."

William James replied by postcard: "Dear Miss Stein, I understand perfectly how you feel. I often feel like that myself." He gave her the highest mark in the course.

During this period she published in a psychological journal a paper recording her experiments in spontaneous auto-matic writing-- the method, according to some critics, by which her books were produced.

She then studied medicine four years at Johns Hopkins University, specializing in brain anatomy, but took no degrees, explaining that she was interested only in her studies and that she was bored by tests.

After a year in London studying Elizabethan prose, she removed in 1903 to Paris with Alice B. Toklas, a San Francisco friend, who was to be her lifelong secretary-companion.



## Knew Famous Artists

On her arrival in Paris, she met the artists, Picasso, Matisse and Bracque. Possessed of an independent income, she became a patron of these men, was influenced by them and handed along that influence to younger artists and writers, among them Ernest Hemingway and the late Sherwood Anderson.

Her hobby was collecting the works of painters before they were famous. She claimed to have discovered Picasso, Juan Gris, Matisse and Bracque and introduced them to the French and American public. Her shrewd connoisseurship is indicated by the fact that her collection of paintings was worth more than ten times what she paid for it.

Her first book, "Three Lives," 1909, written in completely intelligible style, contained realistic tender portraits of two servant girls and a more difficult study of the unhappy love affair of a Negress. Carl Van Vechten, the critic, classed it with the greatest books of the age in his introduction to the Modern Library edition, which was a best seller.

Also written with more or less lucidity were her two biographies of herself, entitled, "The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas" and "Everybody's Autobiography," containing chitchat about Paris artists and American writers in Paris, with discourses on celebrities, art, literature, history and life in general and the genius of Gertrude Stein in particular.

During the first World War, Miss Stein drove a Ford down the lines disturbing (sic) supplies to soldiers and visiting hospitals.

Her publications included "Making of Americans," 1926, and "Prayers and Portraits," 1934, the latter described as "unadulterated "Steinese" and compared by John Chamberlain in The New York Times to "the Chinese water torture; it never stops and it is always the same."

Another critic once remarked that Miss Stein "elected to write in a manner which much of the time makes her concrete meaning inaccessible to the reader. . . . She pushed abstraction to its farthest limits." Clifton Fadiman dismissed Miss Stein as "the Mamma of Dada."

## Wrote Opera Libretto

Perhaps the peak of her publicity was reached in 1934 when she came here on a lecture tour, and her opera "Four Saints in Three Acts," with music by Virgil Thompson, containing the famed line "Pigeons on the grass alas," as significant as the rest of the libretto, was produced.

As a lecturer, Miss Stein demonstrated her genius for self-promagandy by at once limiting her audiences to 500 because she "didn't wish to be stared at as a marvel."

Her lectures went off well. Her audiences, if addled and bewildered by her pronouncements, were also entertained by this roughly dressed woman, with close-cropped hair that set off her strong features.

Among her most recent works were "Paris, France," "a love letter to France," and "Wars I Have Seen," her experiences in occupied France until the arrival of the Americans. For this last book, her publisher, Bennett Cerf, had to abandon his amiable custom of remarking on the blurb of a Stein book that he had no idea what it was about.

For in it she forgets herself and her genius in following life in a French village from day to day in defeat and after liberation. She wrote the book in Culoz beyond Grenoble, under the noses of the Nazis whom she lodged at their insistence.

She had to walk seven and a half miles to town for food during this period.

Writing of this book, Francis Hackett, Times reviewer, concluded, "Hers is a powerful personality, but it needed the American Army to liberate her."

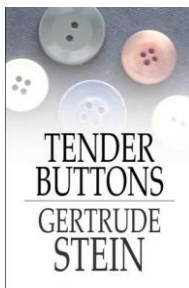
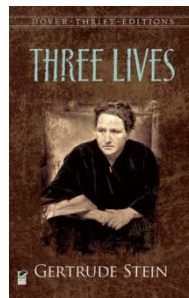
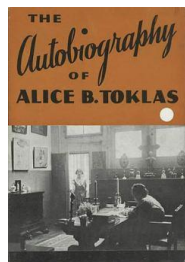
## Her Talks With U.S. Soldiers

In June, 1945, writing in The New York Times magazine section, Miss Stein analyzed the moral and intellectual fate of the young men of this generation. She based her comments on the frequent talks she had had in Paris with American soldiers and concluded that they would not become dissolute in the manner of the generation that lived in the wake of the first World War.

Miss Stein's latest book was published only a week ago under the title "Brewsie and Willie" and was described by Charles Poore in last Sunday's Times Book Review as a book about what the GI's talked of when they gathered around her feet in Paris. " \* \* \* or rather," Mr. Poore remarked, "what she would like to think they talked about, for Miss Stein is a very powerful character and things are apt to change dizzily when translated into Steinese."

A new Gertrude Stein play, "Yes Is for a Very Young Man," which the author has described, despite the title, as "a perfectly simple, straightforward play, completely understandable," is scheduled to be presented on Broadway this fall. Apparently based in some degree on her "Wars I Have Seen," the play will deal with the emotional conflicts which divided France and much of the world during the heyday of fascism.

Her other books included "Geography and Plays" (1922), "How to Write" (1931), "The World Is Round" (1939), and "Ida" (1941).





# SPINOZA

**I value,**  
above all other  
things out of  
my control,

**the joining  
hands of  
friendship  
with men  
who are  
lovers of truth.**

I believe that **nothing in  
the world**, of things outside  
our own control, **brings  
more peace** than the  
possibility of affectionate  
intercourse with such men; it is  
just as impossible that the love  
we bear them can be disturbed  
**... as that truth once  
perceived should not be  
assented to.**



# OPERATION PEDESTAL



During world war two 1942, Malta was a British base where aircraft, ships and subs carried out attacks on convoys that were taking supplies to the Rommel's Afrika Korps of German and Italians in North Africa, whom started to realise that they needed Malta under control to carry on their interests in North Africa.



*Bombed Malta.*

by Brisieis

The German and Italian forces decided to bomb Malta into submission using the German Luftwaffe and Italian Regia Aeronautica. They bombed towns, cities and ports, Malta was one of the most heavily bombed places in world war two because of this siege. The plan was to starve Malta of supplies by the British, this was a success and the most needed supply was fuel, munitions and food.

The British knew how important Malta was and set off to claim back the island at all costs, and indeed it did cost heavily. Among the fleet of fifty ships sent to Malta was the SS Ohio, the worlds largest oil tanker ship at that time. The SS Ohio was built for The Texas Oil Company (Texaco). This fleet had to get past minefields, bombers, submarines and E-boats to reach the port of Malta. The battle was a fierce struggle, many of the fleet were destroyed and sank into the ocean depths. Still the SS Ohio sailed on, until she final took a hit and had huge holes blasted into the ship under heavy bombardment. What was left of the fleet was coming near to Malta, approximately forty five miles West of Malta, but needed to speed up, the Ohio was slowing down due to the damage. The crew put their heads together Commander J.H. Swain RN came up with a plan to connect two ships to the Ohio using thick rope. With one ship on either side, the Ohio pushed towards Malta and did indeed speed up. They had to act because she was sinking and within twelve hours the SS Ohio would have delved deep to the ocean floor. Even as they put the plan into action the crew came on and off the ship as she was attacked again and again, yet still they went on and did not succumb to ultimate destruction and sinkage.

*HMS Eagle - sunk and lost by the Germans during Operation Pedestal.*



*Cleverly, once the fleet was near enough to the Maltese shore, the allies sent out a message that a huge fleet of Americans were headed in the direction, which was a lie, but it worked and made the Italians change route which were heading in the direction of the allied fleet to destroy it.*

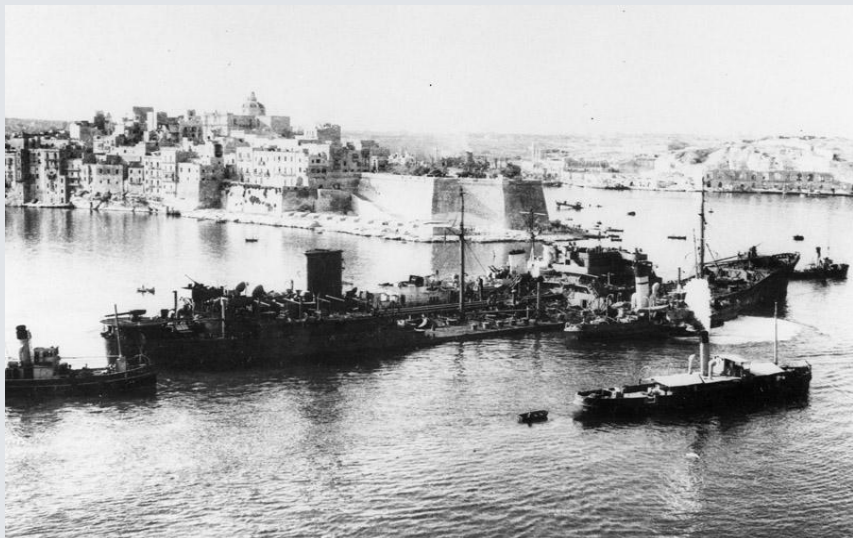


*After a crushing battle and heavy loss the Ohio and the rest of the remaining fleet of Operation Pedestal came into view of the Matlese shoreline.*

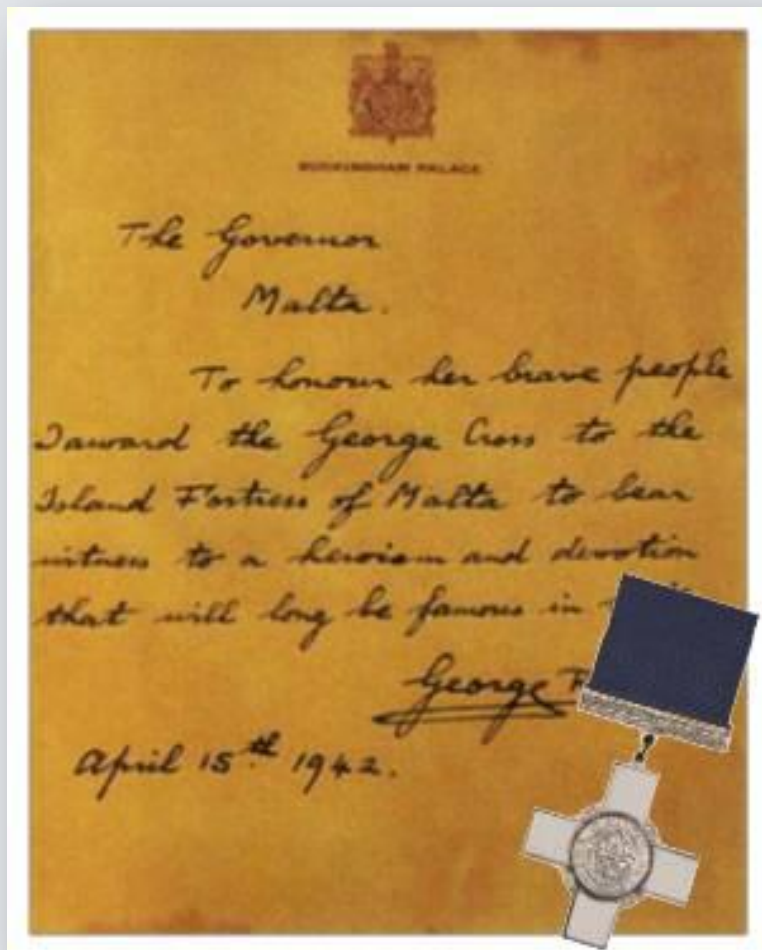


*SS Ohio being towed into harbour by the two destroyer's HMS Penn and HMS Pedbury.*

Dodging a minefield set by the Germans, the Allied ships came into the Grand Harbour of Malta to a black sea of Maltese people cheering and waving. Brass bands played Ruled Britannia and the welcome was fantastic. The ships had managed to bring food to the famished Maltese people and bring the fuel much needed by the army. As the Ohio came into port huge pipes were brought toward the ship and the army moved forward in removing as much fuel from the ships as possible, to a success, almost removing all of the fuel without her sinking.



*The arrival of the fleet into the Grand Harbour, Malta.*



The award of the George Cross was given to Malta. Many bravery awards were given to the captains and crew of the remaining fleet for their part in the operation.

# Dura Europos

## *Pompeii of the East*



by Salah

**On March the 30th, 1920**, an Indian soldier serving in the British army in Syria made an extraordinary discovery. While digging a trench he uncovered a wall richly decorated with paintings of Roman soldiers. An American archaeologist in Iraq was called in to inspect the find – and so began the excavation of the lost Roman city of Dura Europos. It has since become one of the richest Roman archaeological sites to be uncovered in the Middle East.

**It is believed** that Seleukos Nikator, first ruler of the Seleucid Empire and former general in the service of Alexander the Great, founded Dura Europos in or around 303 BC. At that time, the City was known simply as Europos, perhaps because most of its original citizens were Greeks and Macedonians from Europe rather than native Syrians and Arabs. The local population later took to calling Europos by the name of Dura – meaning 'Fortress'. Under Seleucid rule, Dura Europos was constructed and laid out in traditional Greek fashion, with a large agora in the center.

**Dura Europos** was annexed by Parthia during the reign of its great warrior-king, Mithridates the Second. Under Parthian rule, the city came to be a multicultural center of commerce where peoples from across Europe and Asia met to trade. It also rose to be a military base of some importance, being situated on what came to be the borderlands between Parthia and the rising might of Rome.

**Not much is known** about Dura Europos until it was taken by the Romans. In the 160's AD, Lucius Verus, who was junior colleague to the famous Emperor Marcus Aurelius, mustered a great army and invaded the Parthian Kingdom. Encountering little spirited resistance, Verus annexed much territory for Rome, including Dura Europos and the surrounding region in about 165 AD. Dura Europos was destined to spend the rest of its existence as a fortress-city on the Roman frontier.



**In the late Second** and early Third Centuries, Dura Europos enjoyed an era of peace and prosperity, growing increasingly rich off of the trade between the neighboring city of Palmyra, and the other nations of Asia. The Romans were always wary of their eastern neighbors, however, and maintained a strong garrison in the cities of the Syrian frontier. According to Scottish historian Ross Cowan in his book *Imperial Roman Legionary AD 161 – 284*, Dura Europos was home to an elite detachment of the Fourth Scythica Legion, as well as a well-known unit in the Eastern Roman Army, the Twentieth Palmyrene Cohort. The Twentieth was, unlike most military units in Roman Syria, a locally raised unit. Some of its troops even rode into battle on camels, while others were armed like Parthian soldiers.



*Remains of the synagogue*

**Archaeologists** have learned much about the appearance and the equipment of Roman soldiers from the wall-paintings and armor that have been found in Dura Europos. Curiously, many of the legionary infantry are depicted as not wearing any armor – this supports the claims of the Bithynian historian Cassius Dio, who claims that Roman soldiers fighting at a battle in Syria in 218 AD put aside their chainmail shirts and their heavy shields so they could move faster. The soldiers at Dura Europos certainly had armor, though. Several very well-preserved Roman shields have been excavated, one of which had been richly painted – perhaps it was intended for parade usage, rather than actual combat?



*The Dura-Europos church, a house church with chapel area on right.*

**Archaeological** finds at Dura Europos also reveal a new kind of soldier in the Roman army – the cataphract. Cataphracts were heavily – armored horsemen who used bows and long lances in battle. They formed the elite of many Parthian and Armenian armies, and were greatly feared by Roman infantry. Apparently at some point in the Second Century, the Roman armies in the East began to train their cavalry to fight as cataphracts to counter those of the Parthians. Cataphract armor has been discovered at Dura Europos, though there is also evidence that traditional Roman cavalry, with lighter weapons and armor, were also stationed here.



*The Palmyrene Gate, the principal entrance to the city of Dura Europos.*

**Dura Europos** was best known in the Third Century as a military base, but it was also one of the most cosmopolitan cities of Roman Syria. Inscriptions found by archaeologist confirm that people of many cultures, speaking a number of different languages, mingled in the bustling marketplaces of Dura Europos. Greek was probably the most widely-spoken language in the city, as it was in most of the former Hellenistic world, but Latin and Hebrew were widely spoken in Dura Europos as well. Other languages known to be used were Aramaic, Persian, Pahlavi, Parthian, and several dialects of ancient Arabic. One researcher even claims to have found several proto-Slavic inscriptions in Dura Europos, perhaps made by slaves or Roman soldiers from a European contingent.

**Dura Europos** was not only home to many cultural groups, but to at least three distinct religious communities as well. The majority of its citizens probably worshipped the traditional Greek pantheon, even if some had changed the names to their Roman equivalents; the Arabian gods of Hatra and Palmyra were also worshipped. But Dura Europos was home to a large and vibrant Jewish community, and also had a Christian population. In 1934, a mithraeum was discovered in the city, meaning that it was also home to members of this Iranian cult – archaeologists presently believe that the mithraeum of Dura Europos was probably built midway through the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161 – 180 AD), not long after the city fell into Roman hands.

**Another major discovery** at Dura Europos during expeditions in the year 1930's was that of a Jewish synagogue – one of the oldest ones still in existence. Dura Europos was home to a vibrant Jewish population probably for most or all of its existence, and there is evidence that its Jews were closely related to influential Jewish communities of Babylonia. The synagogue at Dura Europos reflects the material wealth of its builders; its walls are lavishly decorated with paintings of Biblical scenes including Haman and Mordechai from the Book of Esther. An Aramaic inscription found in the synagogue reveals that the Jews of Dura Europos – like those of Judea in the lifetime of Jesus – could speak both Hebrew and Aramaic. It also provides a date for the dedication of the synagogue – 244 AD, the last year of the reign of the Roman Emperor Gordian the Third. This means that the synagogue was relatively new when Dura Europos was taken by the Persians in 256.



*Fresco of Abraham from the 3rd-century synagogue, now at the National Museum of Damascus.*

**Dura Europos** was also home to a sizeable Christian population. At some point in the Second or early Third Centuries, an influential member of this community converted his house into a church, and archaeologists believe that this is the oldest Christian place of worship in existence today. Like the synagogue, the house church of Dura Europos is richly decorated with frescoes depicting famous Biblical scenes – particularly some of Jesus’ miracles. These are the earliest depictions of Jesus still in existence. Depictions of Jesus dating to the Third and Fourth Centuries show him as looking like a typical Roman youth – dressed in the garments of an Italian farmer, and clean shaven with relatively short hair. The fact that Christians could openly gather in a house full of such blatantly Christian artwork, apparently with little or no fear of the ramifications, indicates the growing level of toleration of Christians that arose in the Third Century Roman Empire.



*Details from the Temple of Mithras at Dura Europos.*

**It is believed** that Dura Europos was destroyed in the year 256 AD. In the early Third Century, a family of Persian priests called the Sassanids overthrew the Parthian Kingdom, and declared a new Persian Empire. From the reigns of Severus Alexander (222 – 235) to Valerian (253 – 259) there was almost constant violence between Rome and Persia, and trading cities like Dura Europos had the misfortune to be caught between these clashing titans. During the reign of Emperor Valerian, the Persian emperor Shapur the First launched a merciless campaign against Rome’s eastern provinces. In 256 his forces besieged Dura Europos, using both siege ramps and mines to attempt to bring the walls down. After several failed attempts at undermining the walls, the Persians tried attacking the Romans via a mine and the ramp at the same time. The Roman defenders were unable to contain a double assault and were overwhelmed. Dura Europos’ population was sold into slavery in the Persian Empire, and the city, once sacked by the Persians, was never rebuilt.



**One of the most recent** discoveries at Dura Europos took place in January of 2009. A research professor at the University of Leicester, Simon James, claims to have found evidence that the Persians attempted to ‘gas’ Roman soldiers during one of their failed mining attempts. In the ruins of what archaeologists call Tower Nineteen, the bodies and weapons of about twenty Roman soldiers, but only one Persian infantryman, have been found. Traditionally, it has been believed that these men were crushed during the collapse of the mine, but James claims to have found evidence of poisonous gas, made by igniting bitumen and sulphur crystals, being funneled into the mine. So perhaps the soldiers were asphyxiated during one of history’s earliest incidents of chemical warfare, and the solitary Persian corpse was that of a warrior who did not manage to clear the way in time!

**Even though its original** population was deported eighteen centuries ago, Dura Europos again has many visitors – but today they are archaeologists, not merchants from distant Asian countries. Undoubtedly, they will have much more to report to the archaeological community about their findings at this lost Roman fortress.

# A Second Temple in Egypt

## *The Location of the Temple of Onias*

by Lady Cassandra



**The Temple at Leontopolis**, otherwise known as the Temple of Onias, is an important subject for study because it was the only temple outside of Jerusalem after the destruction of the Temple at Elephantine where sacrifices were offered. As such it stands out as a significant and unique lens through with the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt during the Hellenistic period can be understood.

**Lack of information** concerning fundamental facts such as who was the founder of the temple and even the location lend a shroud of mystery to the topic of the Temple of Onias. Ancient records are sparse and confusing and archaeological evidence has either been lost or the object of looting. Such are the problems facing contemporary researchers seeking to answer some of the questions which surround the Temple of Onias. Despite this, analysis of the available evidence can lead us to form conclusions of the likely scenario behind the founding of this Egyptian temple and the place where it may have been located. Tell El Yahudiyeh has long been considered by many to be the probable

location for the Temple of Onias but the recent excavations at another site known as Bubastis or Tell Basta has uncovered some promising evidence. None of the possible locations of which we presently know conform completely to the descriptions of the temple found in ancient sources such as the writings of Josephus. Upon examination of each of the major sites, the only conclusion at which one can arrive is that further research is required. To understand how this can be deduced we must examine the available source documents that describe the temple, its location and its features. The most complete ancient texts that are available on the Temple of Onias are contained within Josephus' *Antiquities* and his *The Wars of the Jews*. After the analysis of Josephus' works it is important to read the archaeological reports of the earliest excavation of the site by Edouard Naville and F.L. Griffith in which the question of Tell El Yahudiyeh and the possibility of it being the location of the Temple of Onias are directly addressed. One also has to consider the works of scholars who both



question and affirm the validity of the determination of Tell el Yahudiyyeh as the place where Onias' temple was located and who mention additional possibilities, the most recent of which is the site of Tell Basta.

**Josephus attributes** the following words to Onias, who is identified as the founder of a second temple located in Egypt which was active roughly between 150-160 BCE and 73CE. They were meant to describe the vision and ambition Onias had for his temple:

"... a temple to Almighty God after the pattern of the one in Jerusalem and of the same dimensions...so that those Jews who dwell in Egypt may have a place where they may come and meet together in mutual harmony..."[1] This temple was created to serve the Diaspora Jewish population and reportedly became as a center for worship and took up many of the activities as well as the appearance of the temple in Jerusalem.

**Onias came to Egypt** following his removal from the high priesthood and the ascension of the Tobiads to this same position. The question that emerges from this is: Which Onias founded the temple in Egypt? Onias III was reportedly killed near Antioch by Andronicus[2] and yet Josephus clearly indicates that this same Onias "...fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nomus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple..."[3] In this account the same Onias who had held the position of high priest founded and obtained land for the use of a temple outside of Jerusalem. In War, Josephus also describes this Onias as "the son of Simon"[4] which again points to Onias III. However, in Antiquities, Josephus identifies Onias IV, the son of Onias III, as the founder of the temple in Egypt.[5] As our main source on the topic, Josephus is obviously not completely reliable on the subject of identifying the creator of the Temple of Onias. This might be a question that could be answered through archaeological evidence.

**What is clear** from the accounts of Josephus is that the temple in Egypt was built to be if not a competitor with the temple in Jerusalem than a substitute for those Jews who found themselves living in the Egyptian Diaspora. Onias justified the building of the Temple by referencing a prophecy of by Isaiah according to which a temple would be founded in Egypt by a Jew.[6] It also seems reasonable to assume that the priestly lineage of Onias (regardless of whether he would be Onias III or IV) would lend credence to his effort to establish a legitimate, fully functioning temple outside of Jerusalem.



**According to Antiquities** the temple was located at a place known as "Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis and which is named Bubastis of the Fields"[7]. It also is said to have been located "180 furlongs" from Memphis, Josephus also tells us that a tower was present, but this seems to contradict the claim that we have which says the temple in Egypt was built to be similar structurally to that of Jerusalem. A fortress 60 cubits high and built from large stone blocks was also reportedly present. The altar was modeled after that of Jerusalem. Indeed the may explain the confusion and apparent contradiction in the accounts: the altar resembled that of Jerusalem but the temple and fortress built to house the altar did not. Josephus also tells us the temple possessed a golden lamp which hung from the ceiling of the temple by a golden chain, was surrounded by a wall of brick and had gates of stone.[8]



**What is affirmed** in all accounts of the temple in Egypt is that it was situated in the nome of Heliopolis. This nome is located in Lower Egypt and has been known to be a center for Jewish tradition.[9] The reference to the “Fields of Bubastis” seems to indicate that wherever it was built the temple was placed in an area in which the Egyptian feline goddess Bastet was worshipped. This provides us with the criteria for determining whether a site may or may not be a viable candidate for the location of the Temple of Onias.

**One site** which has been considered a possible location is that of Demerdash, which is located just south of Heliopolis. It is evident that a Jewish community was present at this location during the time period that the Temple of Onias was in operation. Proof of this can be found in the Jewish inscriptions and tombs that were found in a cemetery at the site. It has, however, been largely left unexcavated and is currently a heavily populated area which would make future excavations highly unlikely to yield much evidence. It is also a somewhat inconspicuous site, which does not fit with the description we find in Josephus. [10]

**Another site** which has recently emerged with considerably more potential is that of Bubastis. From the name of this site it is obvious that it was a center for the cult of Bastet. This site was studied by Edouard Naville from 1887-1889 and in the report of his work the archaeologist makes no mention of the Temple of Onias.[11] When considering that he also studied the site of Tell El Yahudiyeh and identified that site as a possible contender it may be safe to assume that Naville either did not find evidence of the Temple or had already found (in what he considered to be) sufficient evidence for Yahudiyeh and thus did not look for Oniad traces at Bubastis.

The site of Bubastis is littered with fallen pillars and large stones which are reminiscent of the description we find in the letter

attributed to Onias IV, in Josephus’ work. It requests permission from Ptolemy to build the temple at the site of “Bubastis of the Fields”, which was filled with “materials of some kind”. [12] Bubastis, however, is not in the nome of Heliopolis and this presents a major flaw in the theory that it may be the site of the Temple of Onias.



**The major contender** as a possible location for the Temple of Onias is Tell El Yahudiyeh. First excavated by Edouard Naville in 1887, the name of the site has been translated as the “Mound of the Jew” which implies that there was a large and active Jewish population at this location at some point in the past and that it perhaps could be referred to as an ancient “little Judea”[13]. A large Jewish cemetery was found at this site which confirms that it was a sizeable settlement.[14] At this site the inscription of Onion was also found on a block near the cemetery which indicates it was known as the city of Onias or related in some way to the Oniads. Yahudiyeh is located in the Heliopolitan nome as well. Naville notes that there had been previous reports of fragments of statues of Bast found at Tell El Yahudiyeh but that he found no such statues during his investigation, since then, however, a figure has since been found at the site which indicates that it was the center of worship for a Bastet cult at some point in the past. Naville did find evidence of fortification and the location of the site on a prominent, high standing hill would make for an ideal spot for a fortified temple.[15] One flaw in the theory that Tell El Yahudiyeh is the location of the Temple of

**Onias** that should be considered is that Naville did not find any evidence of an altar which should, in theory, be easily identifiable given it's prominence to such a settlement; there are only a few places that such an altar could be located on at Yahudiyyeh and none have so far yielded any evidence of an altar. But we must also keep in mind that the site of Tell El Yahudiyyeh has been subject to much looting over the years, even before Naville's work at the site, it therefore may have been significantly damaged and many artifacts may have been lost or stolen.

F. L. Griffith also studied this site at the same time as Naville and came to a different conclusion. He notes that "the whole evidence of the antiquities, in my opinion, is against a Ptolemaic, or even early Roman occupation of the city... I believe that the temple of Onias must be sought for not here, but in one of the neighboring Tells." [16] Griffith apparently found no evidence contemporary with the timeframe attributed by our sources to the Temple of Onias.

**Flinders Petrie** also studied the site of Tell El Yahudiyyeh and he arrived at the same conclusion as Naville. He based this identification of Yahudiyyeh as the site of the Temple of Onias on three criteria which he established during his excavations. First, the tell is the only center for the worship of Bast that can be identified "from Memphis to Belbeys". Second, Josephus identifies Onias' temple to be located approximately 180 stadia from Memphis. Yahudiyyeh is a very close 186 stadia. And third, the central mound of Tell El Yahudiyyeh has a height that the buildings on it might have stood 59 cubits (Josephus tells us the temple rose to 60 cubits high) above those of the temple below. [17]

Despite the three investigations above—that of Griffith, Naville and Petrie—there still has been no hard evidence found of a temple or altar at Tell el Yahudiyyeh. Like every other potential site that has thus far been identified and investigated, Yahudiyyeh is an imperfect fit to



Leontopolis – City of Lions

the features, measurements and map laid out for us by Josephus. Josephus' account is questionable as well due to the conflicting and often confusing statements found within it. To complicate matters further: many, if not all, potential sites have been the subject of looting and damage from age and carelessness and researchers also have to contend with local resistance and political statements against the research into the history of an Egyptian Jewish population. To identify any of the given sites as the Temple of Onias would be unjustified by the historical record we have and to the available evidence that has been uncovered at each.

**It is with this** in mind that further research into the location and identification of the site of the Temple of Onias needs to be called for. The finding of this site would lead to a better understanding of a volatile period in the history of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt and would aid in shedding light on the politics and organization of the Temple both within and without Jerusalem during the Second Temple Period.



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[6] Schiffman, 181



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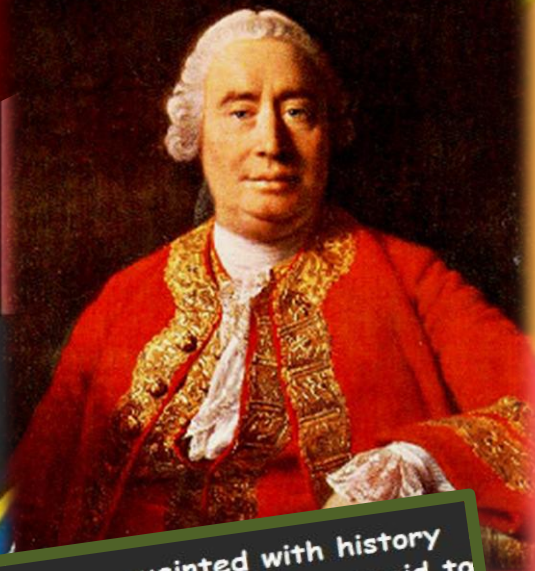
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"A man acquainted with history may, in some respect, be said to have lived from the beginning of the world, and to have been making continual additions to his stock of knowledge in every century."

David Hume



## The Boer Commando

*by Niall Shannon*

### Ragged, rough and ready.

Such words can accurately describe the Boer commando, which originates as a term for the unit, as well as the individual. A militia force, none were professional soldiers; rather they were farmers and hunters, men who were raised in the saddle and were used to the tough landscape of the South African colonies.



**Because of their lifestyle, they** were expert marksmen and excellent horse riders, firing from cover when on foot and making the shot count, and striking with rapid deadly force on horse. Many times they rode out to defend their homes, against the Zulus, against the British, and each time their skill and determination came to the fore.



### ***Structure***

The Dutch settlers who first made their way to the Cape Colony in the 17th century quickly learned the necessity to defend themselves, fighting the Khoi-Khoi. Over time it developed into a formal system, where the commando was a conscripted force, which elected its own officers. Each town and the surrounding area was divided into wards, and the commando of that town was led by a Kommandant, supported by Veldkornets from each ward. Kommandants answered to Generals, who in theory commanded four commandos, but the numbers changed depending on the reality on the ground. Auxiliary ranks like the Vleiskorporal (lit.meat corporal; roughly akin to a quartermaster for that commando) were created when conflict flared up. However, because of the semi-formal nature of the commandos, many commandos had a relatively different overall command structure.

### ***Equipment***

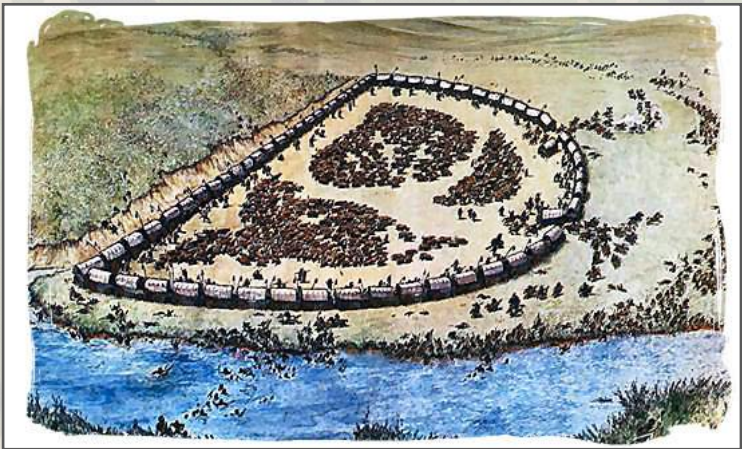
As they were militiamen, the Boer Commando brought with him whatever he had, providing his own horse and weapons. Few could afford repeater rifles but most were extremely competent with their single shot breech loaders. This skill in marksmanship was not only necessary for their line of work, but was also supplemented by a culture that encouraged shooting competitions (many formed rifle clubs, which were later to form clandestine commandos when the commandos were banned after the Second Boer War).

Because of their skill, small numbers of commandos were able to hold off significantly larger enemy forces. One such example can be found in the Battle of Blaauwberg, where the local commando was able to stave off the advancing British long enough so that the rest of the regular army could retreat.

## Tactics

Most commando tactics revolved around their high mobility granted to them by their superb use of horses, so raids both in the day and at night were common when the commandos rode out. However, due to the irregular nature of their tactics, civilian casualties were frequent occurrences on these raids.

**These incidents** spiked during the Anglo-Boer Wars in the late 19th century, where the British government became increasingly frustrated by the ghostlike guerilla soldiers and opened up concentration camps where Afrikaans civilians were imprisoned. The conditions in the camps were dreadful and many died of disease. With the opening of the camps, the conflict became more bitter, and the guerilla tactics increased the tension. A common practise was to raise a white flag and then shoot the enemies as they came to accept the surrender. Such stratagems are common in asymmetrical warfare, but tend to increase the number of atrocities

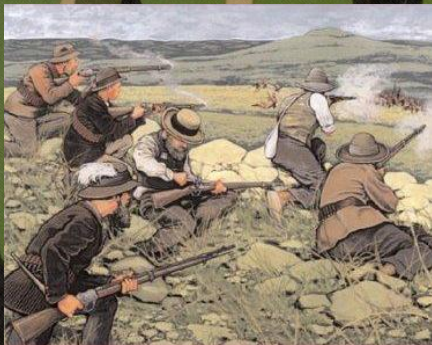


## Battle of Blood River

**Perhaps** the most famous Commando event was during the Battle of Blood River, during the Great Trek (the Trek was a Boer migration away from British control, which had recently acquired ownership of the formerly Dutch colonies).

**During the Great Trek**, the various groups of Trekkers traveled in *laagers*, mobile wagon camps that could be converted quickly into makeshift forts, quite similar to corrals in the frontiers of America. After recent bloodshed with nearby Zulus, the Trekkers were forced to make a *laager* to defend against the Zulu army. Figures for the two forces are around 800 Trekkers, of which half were commandos reinforced by their wives and children and various servants, and 10-20,000 Zulus.





**The laager** was protected by a hippo pool next to it, and the commandos were helped by their wives and children and servants who loaded and supplied the fighting men. Waves upon waves of Zulu impis assaulted the entrenched marksmen, with one Zulu soldier describing his comrades falling "like grass" against the targeted firepower of the commandos.

**Only three commandos** were wounded, none of them seriously, while thousands of Zulus lay dying in the blistering heat. The name of the battle comes from the blood that ran through the river Ncome, and was a seminal event for the Afrikaans population even to this day.



### Conclusion

**The Commando** enjoys a controversial image to this day. To some, they were noble defenders of their home, while to others they were brutal bigots who engaged in numerous atrocities (a significant cause for the Great Trek was Great Britain's abolition of slavery).

**What is undeniable** however is that again and again, the commando rode out to fight with great skill and determination, elusive and efficient.



## Introduction

**The railways worked** in collaboration with the Industrial Revolution in England during the nineteenth-century to play a crucial part in the lives of the Victorian people as well as the outlook of the city during this era. The impacts they produced were unseen in relative terms as the technology pioneered was unlike anything produced by man in our history. It is undeniable that the development of railways had universal impacts all over the different spheres of interactions and the amount of people this effected was on a scale that was unprecedented in history.

**Unlike the sluggish** horse carriages that preceded this technological innovation, the railways allowed for transportation time to be dramatically reduced. This establishment of the steam locomotive of the 1830s provided a boost to the already booming British economy. The cultural impacts that took place due to the augmentation of the train and railways were monstrous. Moreover, the image of slum remover of railways was far from reality, which contributed to the increase in crime rate of those Victorian cities.



**The Railway Office, Liverpool, c. 1830,**  
*was the first railway station in Britain.*

*The sketch is a view of the  
Liverpool and Manchester Railway  
drawn by T.T. Bury.*

## Cultural Impacts

**The train** was a significant innovation of the Victorian era and as it was something never before seen during the history of mankind and it created an important impact upon the cultural atmosphere of that era. As technological advances during this period of time including the maturation of steam energy instead of manual efforts was unheard of, this should not be surprising. One important example of the cultural impacts against the 'cultural heritage' of the British people was the train's intrusion into the rural regions of Britain. The Victorians, and the English in general, have a deep love of the countryside believed their countryside was a divine gift thus despised the trains that cut deep into the rural regions. Despite the negative connotations, the train still became an important accepted symbol of the era with impacts both positive and negative. From labor standpoint, the labor force of railway companies were almost exclusively men unlike the factories of the same period of time. This aforementioned phenomenon led to

masculinity being the dominant force in the generating symbolization applied to trains. Due to this, trains, despite being a massive locomotive weighing in tons, were generally referred to as 'she'. Furthermore, trains were also seen as a symbol of sexual intercourse and this was particularly true when trains crossed tunnels. However, this comparison of the railway system with intercourse was not a positive comparison as the Victorians were conservative and sex tended to be looked upon negatively. The negative aspects of the train did not simply end with this though as almost every detective story had murders or crimes committed on board the trains causing the train to effectively evolve into one of sub-genres of detective stories.

**After the consideration** of the aforesaid, it was interesting to see how trains was also



seen by others, including notable figures such as Samuel Smiles, as a representation of the morality of the modern era. This created an interesting dilemma as train was also seen in extremely negative sight by other acknowledged scholars of this period such as Charles Dickens. This was peculiar as both Dickens and Smiles were writers from the same phrase of time, indeed they were born in the same period. The difference in opinion could be based upon the ethnic background of the two different writers as Smiles was Scottish and Dickens was English. This was interesting as it showed that the train culturally affected the Scottish people and English people differently. There were many different cultural impacts that the trains caused in Britain and the views upon it differed from person to person but regardless of whether the train was viewed as a positive or negative effect, it was irrefutable that the modern British culture was dramatically influenced by the introduction of the railway system.

## **Economic Impacts**

**The trains** played a major part in abetting an already growing British economy initially from the industrial revolution. There were many ways that had been discussed by other historians such as the aforementioned time-space compression which allows for increased trade as well as other such benefits. Nevertheless, despite them being the most popular economic impacts, they were not the only things that contributed to the economical enhancements.

The economy of Britain became further improved with the assistance of the trains due to one of its unlikely impacts, suburbanization. While most people would see that as a social impact more than economic one, it was important to consider the suburbs as another developing sector rather than a dependency upon the urban economy. As the trains quickened the transportation from cities to the suburbs, the economic strengths of the British city spread out into the countryside. In contrary to popular theories and beliefs, the suburbanized population of Britain did not seek employment inside the city. Instead, they pursued their careers within the suburbs themselves. This allowed the British economy to enlarge itself similarly to the current Chinese method of using the trickle-down technique. In other words, as the wealthy people headed towards the countryside, they brought their venture capital with them.

**Although this theory** normally applied when tax cuts allowed the rich to profit and it was the perception that they would then spread the wealth to the lower classes, the train worked to the same effect with spreading wealth by allowing the rich to benefit. The people who could afford to move away from the city centers after the railway system was all wealthy so therefore, the rich who could afford to move away from the city





*The Measures of the Rail-Road. — Showing the Inconvenience of a Blow up.*

centers after the railway system was all wealthy so therefore, the rich were the only people who benefitted from trains and its subsequent suburbanization.

**However**, this was not the case as the suburbs forced the creation of new infrastructure as well as other necessary items that could create employment.

Moreover, governmental spending as a result of increased population was only a small part of the cascading effects that strengthened the economy of Britain. The new inhabitants became entrepreneurs and invested mightily in the suburban economy and caused an enormous change in the environment of the area as they no longer remained farmlands but instead became extensions of the cities instead. The manufacturing sectors of large companies suburbanized with the people and slowly, suburbs became specialized industrial production areas rather than simply the outskirts of towns.

**The railways** played a crucial part in this evolution of the economy as they allowed for the production of merchandise to be moved further away from its destination. Before the railway system was fully developed, only the port cities became prosperous but as the trains became more commonplace as transportation, the production did not necessarily have to need near the coast. This allowed for Britain as a whole to share the benefit of its industrial prowess that was formerly only enjoyed by the urban dwellers thus enhancing the British people's lives and its own economy as an entity.



## Social Impacts

**The train** was a great influence towards life in general in the Victorian city as transportation was slow thus restricting what people now take for granted: food and shelter.

**As the trains** developed, time-space compression occurred as the amount of time it required to get from point A to point B was drastically reduced as the relationship between the significance of distance was reduced by the acceleration of the experience of time was revolutionized. The significance of this cannot be overlooked as this allowed people to live apart from their workplace thus sparking the suburbanization of the major cities. Although the temptation to leave the urban center was existent even prior to the widespread usage of the train, the fact that the train was the single factor that made this relocation possible. Nevertheless, the eagerness to move was partly also due to the train itself as the initial misconceptions of it being a slum remover was faulty. Originally, the train was thought capable of removing slums as they were razed a path through major cities mainly in the slum regions as the land was the least expensive. Needless to say, this was not the case as trains moved through the slums, its original inhabitants, already poor, were forced to move to other parts of the city that featured similarly low land prices.

**While the train** was definitely not in the favor of most urban dwelling Victorians, its impacts were both positive and negative. The negative impacts of trains were effectively highlighted by the increased crime rates after the introduction of the railway system. Despite knowing that the English cities pre-industrialization and steam locomotives were not crime-free, the situation deteriorated greatly after the introduction of the railways. Crime was and continues to be a complex response to intricately connected social forces. The rural people made use of the innovative transportation system to move into urban areas in hopes of improving their living standards by working in factories or the railways but ironically, the reality of the Victorian cities fell short of their expectation. Despite the pre-existence of this exodus prior to the establishment of the railways, the situation worsened due to increasing rural to urban migration of unskilled labor as a result of the reduced cost. With unskilled laborers, who were more motivated to living a life of crime moves in, the problem compounded because people who were less motivated to crime, the middle class, moved into the suburbs. Once they migrated to the urban regions, they were compelled to live in slum housings and exploited by capitalists in factories. Therefore, their discontentment accumulated and made the cities the melting pot for diversified forms of criminality which mainly included violent assault as well as property crimes.



Originally,  
the train  
was  
thought  
capable  
of  
removing  
slums...





## Conclusion

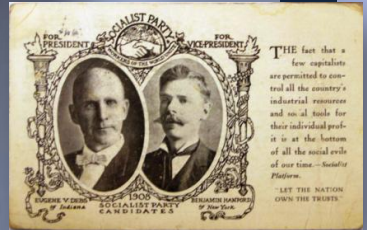
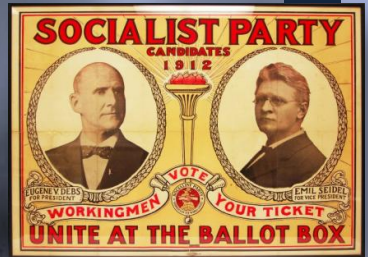
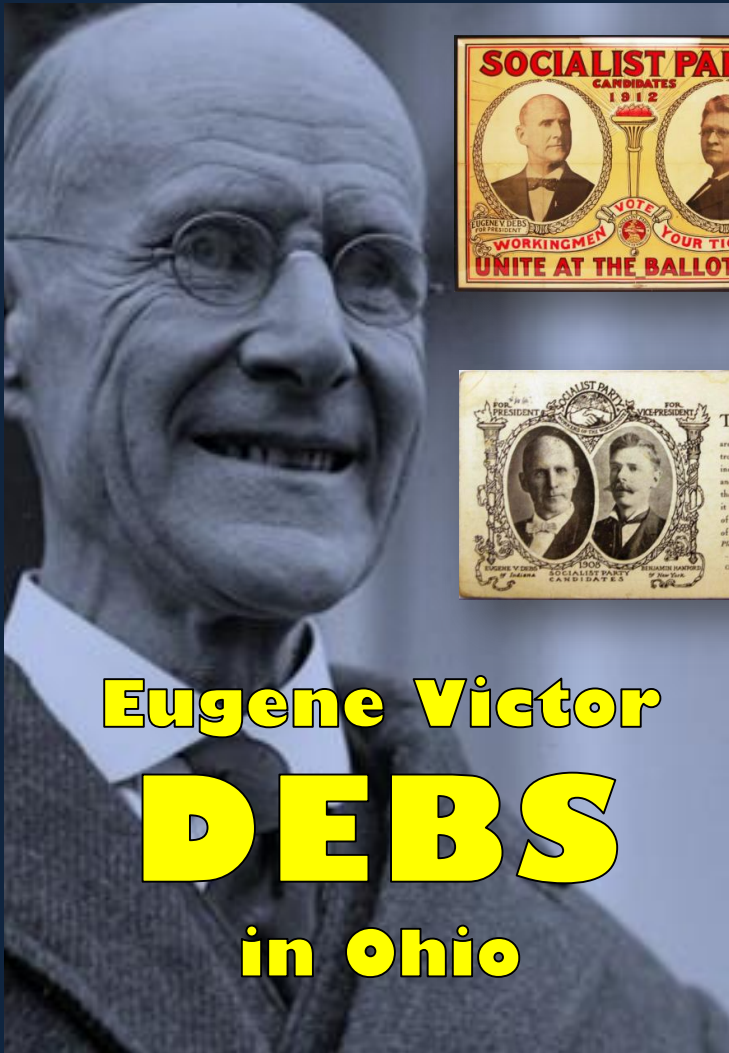
**The introduction** of trains in the Victorian Britain imposed enormous influences in cultural, economical and social dimensions, which were linked up with the notion of time-space compression. Although there were polemic controversies from the general public about the expansion of railways to suburbs, the establishment of the railway network modified the British cultural characteristics. Economically speaking, railways were beneficial to the implementation of trickle-down theory from the city centre to the suburbs and thus promoted suburbanization. Eventually, business clusters were developed in the original business clusters and also local economies in the port regions. In spite of the economic prosperity that British attained because of railways, the underprivileged remained to be exploited in terms of working conditions and living environments. Therefore, the possibility of committing crimes for the labouring-classes who were under immense tension was unreasonably high, which gradually turned into an atmosphere of city chaos.



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## The Transformation of Third Party Politics



# Eugene Victor **DEBS** in Ohio

by A. Lincoln

Third party politics has existed in the United States ever since there has been some type of formal electoral and political process. However, third party candidates have more often than not been forgettable, non-victorious, and un-influential candidates. Nevertheless, there is one candidate who paved the way for all future third party politicians such as Ralph Nadar, Pat Buchanan, and Ron Paul. These politicians, whether you agree with them or not, are part of our political spectrum today due to their predecessor. This man was political figure and Socialist, Eugene Victor Debs. Debs was one of the first presidential candidates to truly popularize the idea of running for President of the United States without the sole intention to win the election. Instead, he ran in order to promote a particular cause. Herbert Morais writes in Gene Debs that Debs once said, " I wish no office, no honors-empty baubles all. When my days are ended, I shall have enjoyed the love of those capable of appreciating a man who is true to himself, and that is enough."

As Debs said for himself, his intentions were never to hold office as a presidential candidate but instead to promote a larger idea, in his case the rights of the lower and labor classes. Throughout his campaigning and throughout his life, there was one event in particular that would transform third party politics forever. On June 16, 1918, Debs made his infamous Canton speech in Canton, Ohio. On that day he defended American laborers, the right to freedom of speech, support for the Russian Revolution, and he strongly opposed President Woodrow Wilson and World War I. The immediate result of his speech was a trial in Cleveland. Debs was found guilty for violating the Espionage Act of 1917 and Sedition Act of 1918, and sentenced to ten years imprisonment in the Atlanta Federal

Penitentiary, where he began serving his time on April 13, 1919. In history books this event is usually briefly skimmed over, leaving the rest of Debs' story to the imagination. However, there is a larger question involving Debs and the events in Canton – how was third party politics transformed by Eugene Debs' Canton speech in 1918 in Ohio? It is true that the results and true consequences of his actions in Ohio have lasted throughout time for candidates and politicians today.

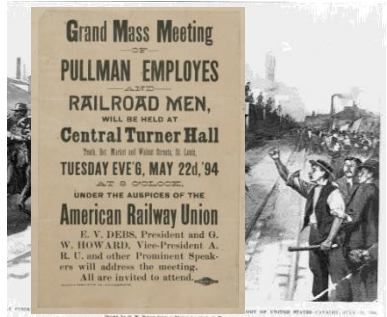


Eugene Victor Debs was born November 5, 1855 in Terre Haute, Indiana to parents Jean Daniel and Marguerite Marie Bettrich Debs. His parents had come to America from Alsace only six years before he was born and were in the grocery business in Terre Haute. Imbued with a love of the French and German Romantic writers, Jean Debs named his first son after two of those writers – Eugene Sue and Victor Hugo.

By the age of fifteen, Eugene was working for the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railway Company. He started as a laborer and later graduated to a locomotive fireman. Debs continued to work his way upwards within his city, and eventually become the associate editor of the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine in 1878. Barely one year later, Debs was elected for a two-year term as city clerk of Terre Haute. And he was re-elected when elections came around again. After four years as city clerk, Debs was elected to the Indiana House of Representatives as a Democrat in 1884.

Then in 1885, Debs married Katherine Metzel. Within in thirty years Debs had established himself as a hometown favorite, a laborer, a politician, an editor, a state representative, and then after his marriage a family man.

*Katherine  
"Kate" Metze  
Debs*



While these thirty years serve as the base for Debs as a man, what had yet to come would be the defining moments for both himself and for third party politics.

In the 1890's Eugene Debs became president of the American Railway Union, and was a prominent public figure stirring up controversy with the Pullman Strike. Debs was jailed for the first time (and certainly not the last time) in 1894 for his role in the strike, which escalated from a strike by the workers who made the Pullman Company's cars and who appealed to the American Railway Union. Debs believed that the boycott was risky, given the hostility and tension of both the railways and the federal government, the weakness of the ARU, and the possibility that other unions would break the strike. The ARU ignored his warnings and refused to handle Pullman cars or any other railroad cars attached to them, including cars containing U.S. mail. Shortly after the strike began Debs was found guilty of interfering with the mail on the cars and sent to prison. He was released November 22, 1895 after serving his term in the McHenry County Jail in Woodstock, Illinois.

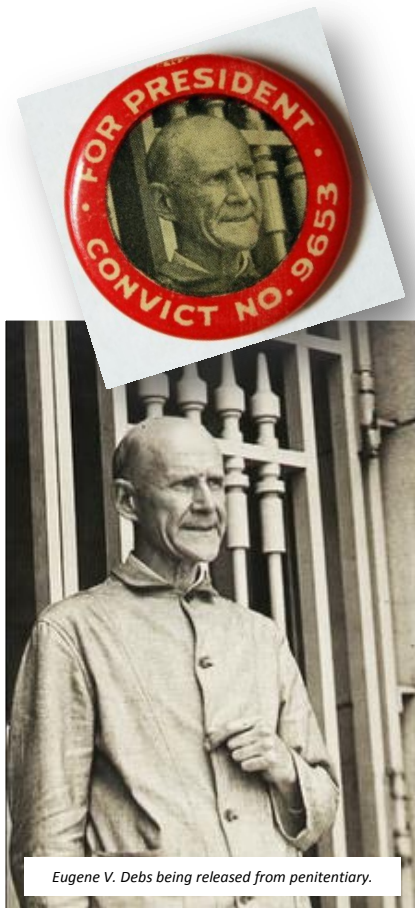


However, the real significance of the Pullman Strike would be Debs' introduction to Socialism. Without question, the strike and his jailing were crucial events in his conversion to Socialist ideologies. Debs credited his time in prison as the eye-opening experience that persuaded him to switch parties. He was once quoted as saying, "At Woodstock (Jail), Socialism gradually laid hold of me in its own irresistible fashion. Books and pamphlets and letters from Socialists came by every mail and I began to read and think and dissect the anatomy of the system in which workingmen, however organized, could be shattered and battered and splintered."

With his time in jail, Socialists were able to persuade Debs. Debs himself was surprised how long it took him to recognize Socialism. He once wrote of Socialism, "Utter failure to grasp significance scope and character of the Socialist movement. From crown to foot soles I was a 'pure and simple' trade unionist. I realized that Socialism had been thrust upon me at the point of a capitalist bayonet..."

From this moment on Debs would disconnect himself from major party politics of the Democrats. He identified himself as not only a Socialist, but also a man of the working class, a man of the lower class, and a man who was willing to speak the truth to the people, and on behalf of the people.

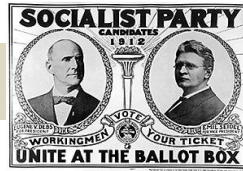
It is important to note that Debs was not only a voice of the white males in America, but also a sincere voice for all citizens, including minorities. Despite political trends at the time, Debs truly believed that all people of America should be viewed as equal and important. Debs used his magnificent voice to fight against every form of discrimination and division based on nationality, race, or creed. "In dealing with human beings I know no race, no color, no creed," he said. Issues such as these were more reasons why Debs used presidential campaigns as stages to voice his opinion.



Later in the 1890's Debs supported William Jennings Bryan in his unsuccessful bid for the presidency. Eventually, Debs realized his stock was rising in popularity and he accepted the nomination of the Socialist party to run for president in 1900. So began what would be a long and hard road as a third party presidential candidate. Debs ran for president five times, never once winning or even receiving a single electoral vote. Debs became renowned for not being a sincere competitor for the White House, but as a political voice. He served as a voice that the country was interested in hearing, and not only the people of the Socialist party.

Up until this point in history, third party politicians were hardly even considered competition for the presidency. The rare exceptions were almost always former presidents who ran under a third party name, even though they were already in office as president under the political parties of Democrat or Republican.

These candidates included, Martin Van Buren in 1848, Millard Filmore in 1856, and Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 (with the most successful third party results ever). And then there is Eugene Debs. Why is it that when third party politics is mentioned, inevitably Eugene Debs' name comes up? It is not by coincidence or chance. Debs ran for the presidential chair five times in just twenty years (1900-1920), only opting out of the 1916 election due to illness. This is by far more presidential bids than any public third party candidate in the history of the United States. When people discuss third party movements that are worth remembering, it is truly impossible to



exclude Debs. With this said, the one moment that changed Debs' legacy and third party politics forever was his infamous Canton speech. Until this day, no moment had come close to changing the way third party politics worked the way Debs changed it in Ohio.

It is important to note that the fact that Debs made the speech is not the only focal point, but also the fact that he specifically made it in Ohio. In recent years Ohio has gained some notability for being a crucial swing state in presidential elections. The 2004 presidential election was not the first time Ohio had helped decide an election, and it will not be the last time. Eugene Debs had a great appreciation for Ohio and Ohioans, coming here annually during his campaigns to speak.

He believed Ohio represented more than itself, but that it also served as a great representation of what was happening elsewhere in America at the time, a comparison still used today.

He once wrote of Ohio's representation of industry, "The Buckeye state has a central and commanding position in the class struggle in America. It is highly industrialized and ought to be a very stronghold of the focus of industrial liberation." Though Debs was born and raised in Indiana, his admiration for Indiana's neighbor state was always relevant.

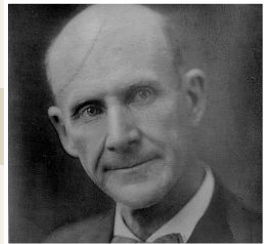
On his 1908 Red Special campaign he once conversed with a crowd in Toledo, Ohio. "This is about the time of year," said Debs, "when the orators of the capitalist parties- the Democrats and Republicans-are coming before you and telling you how intelligent you are-they tell you how intelligent you are to keep you ignorant. We tell you how ignorant you are to make you intelligent. You produce all the wealth and have none of it. The capitalist class produces no wealth and has all of it. You make the automobiles and-walk." Then a voice shouted from the crowd: "And get run over." These types of exchanges were commonplace with Debs, but were not so common within standard politics. However, it was a large part of why Ohioans loved him. His history with Ohio inspired him to write an entire essay entitled *The Situation in Ohio*. "The comrades of Ohio are entitled to my lasting gratitude for their fidelity and devotion during the past few months and I shall gladly avail myself every opportunity to work hand in hand with them."

His regular appearances in Ohio were not mere accidents. At the beginning of 1915, thirty-one socialists sat in the state legislatures between Massachusetts and Ohio. The state had long been a radical stronghold and already a number of Ohio socialists had been arrested in 1918. The socialist vote was high in Cleveland, Toledo, Sandusky, and smaller towns in the Midwest. Not only did Debs recognize Ohio's national importance early on in the country's history, but Ohio helped define the legacy of Debs as well.

So here we are, in 1918 with Eugene Debs in Ohio. We understand the road Debs has taken to this point, and we understand that his speech and consequences of his speech would be crucial turning points in third party politics. However, Debs did not just make a speech to stir up controversy, he had a reason and cause.

With the onset of World War I the United States government and President Woodrow Wilson quickly enacted the Espionage Act of 1917 on June 15, 1917 in order to reduce so-called "panic" over the war. The basic principle of the Act was that it was a crime for any person to convey information with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the armed forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies. In short, no American citizen was allowed to help wartime enemies.

Only a year later the Sedition Act of 1918 made it a crime to speak, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the United States' form of government.



Obviously Debs, who was a strong advocate of the first amendment, was offended and appalled by the two wartime acts. Debs once said in reaction to the act and their felony convictions under the law, "I despise the Espionage Law with every drop of blood in my veins, and I defy the Supreme Court and all the powers of capitalism to do their worst." These acts were the jumping off point for Debs to start a chain of events that produced a change in third party politics. Debs finally had enough of the governmental actions he considered to be political, capitalist, and imperialist and he took center stage.

Debs was determined to make an example of himself and the acts. Exactly one month after Congress had passed the Sedition Act, Debs went to Canton, Ohio to deliver an address at the Ohio State Socialist Convention in the city. Before the meeting was called, he went to visit three of his comrades who were in prison for violation of the Espionage Act. His sympathy went out to these men whom he considered martyrs to the cause of Socialism. A majority of people convicted under the Espionage and Sedition Acts were Socialists.

A large part of the Canton speech was in praise of what he considered the real service of his comrades (Debs used the word comrades to identify those whom he identified with) to the cause of freedom of speech. In what was almost the opening statement, he referred to his comrades in prison by saying, "They may put those boys in jail-and some of the rest of us in jail- but they can not put the Socialist Movement in jail...They [the prisoners in Canton] have come to realize as many of us have, that it is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe in the world."

This was just the beginning of what would turn into a very lengthy two-hour speech, which Debs knew quite well would get noticed. A speech he intended to be noticed, and pay a high price for. Hundreds upon hundreds were gathered in Canton on this summer day to hear Debs speak. Among these energetic citizens were government spies at the Canton Socialist Convention when Mr. Debs made his speech. When asked if he sensed the likelihood of arrest for his assertions at that time, his eyes flashed. Then a little smile crept around his expressive mouth and he unhesitatingly answered: "I knew that that speech was likely to settle the matter."

Nevertheless he spoke on. He declared, "I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war heart and soul, and that is the world-wide revolution." He repeatedly urged American men to refuse to serve in the military, even though he knew he could be prosecuted for such remarks under the Espionage Act. "I would a thousand times rather be a free soul in jail than a sycophant and a coward in the streets," he told a Socialist gathering in 1918. Debs condemned President Wilson and the United States government throughout the speech for leading the country into an imperialist war, and for ignoring its own citizens needs. "They declare war; they make peace. 'Yours not to ask the question why; yours but to do and die.' This is their motto, and we object on the part of the awakened."

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If there was a rule in the Espionage and Sedition Act that Debs could break, he did. After speaking out against the war and the government, he shifted his focus to the Russian Revolution, which had happened a year prior. Debs praised the revolution as a great accomplishment. "I hear our heart beat responsive to the Bolsheviki of Russia. Yes, those heroic men and women, those unconquerable comrades, who have, by their sacrifice, added fresh luster to the international movement...they have laid the foundation of the first real Democracy." Debs fully understood the controversy of his remarks as he was making them. He knew that if he was going to make a speech in which he wanted to prove a point to the people and other politicians, this was the one. Topics that were taboo and politically incorrect to preach during this time, especially in front of a huge crowd, were the exact topics Debs was determined to address.

After two hours of cheering, applauding, laughing, and yelling, Debs made his stance and point clear then left Ohio to continue his speaking tour. Meanwhile, the government and media reacted swiftly.

Threats of arrest were made against Debs if he should ever return to Ohio. A warrant for his arrest was put out almost immediately after the speech was reported by ... of the Cleveland newspaper *The Plain Dealer*. If Debs were to return to Ohio (which everyone knew he would) he would be arrested. The newspapers immediately blazed forth such headlines as: "Eugene Debs Turned Traitor." A serious question growing out of the speech of Debs in Canton is whether the term "traitor" was properly applied in his case. Not only did some of the periodicals of the country condemn him as a traitor, but even President Wilson and Governor Warren McCray of Indiana did so.

Undaunted, he went into Northern Indiana to fulfill his speaking engagements, determined to return to Ohio soon. Media in Ohio such as the *Toledo Blade* – a paper that was usually kinder towards Debs – slammed Debs saying his speech had made "Disloyal and seditious remarks." Debs received media attention from across the country. The *Philadelphia Ledger* referred to Debs and his loyal members as "Slackers."

However, not all media outlets described Debs in a poor light. Hostile as well as friendly periodicals of the day commended Debs for the fearless spirit which he had shown during the time when his case was before the courts. The *New York Times* said of his conduct at the time, "Unlike nearly all the rest of his fellow-believers, who are lions on the platform and mice in the court, he did not...seek loopholes. He had the courage of his convictions. He challenged the law and the challenge has been met."

For Debs, there was no escaping the attention whether positive or negative and that is exactly how he wanted it.

After completing his Indiana speaking tour, Debs decided it was time to return to Ohio. He arrived in Cleveland, Ohio where was scheduled to speak. Here he was arrested because of his statements in Canton. However, he was determined to be arrested on his own terms. He went to a fourth-class hotel and registered incognito. That evening he went out for a walk. By his own testimony he was nervous and excited by that time. By the next day he had made up his mind to let the authorities arrest him, so he went to his regular hotel and registered. In a very short time, things began to move. His friends took him for a car ride. Their car was followed by officers and the warrant for his arrest was served on a side street in Cleveland. It was Sunday, June 30th, and the authorities refused to open the offices to let him pay bail. Thus, for the second time his life, Debs was imprisoned.

## Debs admitted to the jury that the prosecution was correct in its charge ...

Debs considered his night in the Cleveland jail to be an experience thoroughly worthwhile. He was put in the same room with a number of other prisoners and they fraternized together. In fact, they made so much noise that the authorities decided the he should be put in a cell in another part of the jail. Debs declared with grim humor that public officials always blundered when dealing with him. In this case, they had evidently forgotten that he might corrupt the bums.

The trial in Cleveland was short and simple. Beginning on September 9, 1918, Debs was brought up on the charges of violating the Espionage Act. Debs encouraged the legal system to work itself out, and for a fair trial to be had. Debs proclaimed that he should be “Judged by his own words, by his own words condemned”. Though lawyers represented him, he asked that they not call up any witnesses for his defense. Instead, Debs would defend himself. Debs said in the courtroom, “I may be sent to prison by the powers of militarism, but they have not the power to conquer the power you now possess. My message from behind the prison bars will be all the more powerful. I would much rather be a man in jail than a coward outside of it.” Debs seemed to be at no one’s mercy during the series of events that had taken place. Every step of the way, Debs understood the consequences of his speech, and the consequences in the courtroom. He denied nothing. Debs admitted to the jury that the prosecution was correct in its charge that he favored the Bolsheviks of Russia. He claimed that the American press had grossly misrepresented them. He compared them to our Revolutionary fathers pointing out, “Washington, Jefferson, Paine, and their compeers were the rebels of their day. When they began to chafe under the rule of a foreign king and to sow the seed of resistance among the colonists they were opposed by the people and denounced by the press...But they had moral courage to be true to their convictions, to stand erect and defy all the forces of reaction and detraction; and that is why their names shine in history, and why the great respectable majority of their day sleep in forgotten graves.” Much like Debs, their opponents saw these great men as traitors. But what matters is that they stood for what they believed in. That honest quality, proven by the revolutionaries and by Debs, is usually appreciated much more by later generations.

In his final appeal to the jury Debs went on to say, "I cannot take back a word I have said. I cannot repudiate a sentence I have uttered. I stand before you guilty of having made this speech...I do not know, I cannot tell, what your verdict may be; nor does it matter much, so far as I am concerned."

It was then no surprise that on September 12, 1918 newspaper headlines read, "Cleveland Federal Jury Finds Debs Guilty."

The sentencing was to be announced two days later. The maximum penalty on violation of the Espionage Act was 20 years imprisonment and a fine of \$10,000 (almost \$170,000 in today's dollars). Two days later the papers read, "Debs Gets 10 Years in Pen," along with the fine of \$10,000. Other articles such as, "What Did Debs Say?" said,

"Ten Years in Jail for a Two Hour Speech! A Day in jail for each four words that he spoke. That must have been SOME speech. He must have said terrible things!"

In Debs' closing statements he said, "The right I exercised at Canton on the 16th day of last June: and for the exercise of that right, I now have to answer to indictment. I believe in the right of free speech, in war as well as in peace. I would not, under any circumstances, gag the lips of my bitterest enemy. I would under no circumstance suppress free speech. It is far more dangerous to attempt to gag the people than to allow them to speak freely what is in their hearts."

Before Judge Westenhaver released Debs he warned him against further anti-war speechmaking and restricted him to speaking in the northern district of Ohio or cities close to Terre Haute. Ignoring Judge Westenhaver's edict, Debs asserted in numerous addresses that the Espionage Act was un-American and that "common

people" gained nothing from war. Federal authorities sent the Department of Justice a copy of his Toledo speech, delivered nineteen days after the Armistice. Toledo Socialists protested that the war had ended, the lecture could not be considered as interfering with the military. Debs would not be silenced in Ohio until he was put behind bars. In April 1919 Debs, by his own discretion, reported back to Cleveland, Ohio to be transported to the Atlanta Penitentiary where he would serve his term and where he would become Convict Number 9653. A large crowd of people gathered around the train in which he left Terre Haute, supporting and cheering him on. His humor did not desert him on his way to prison. A fellow traveler told him that he was going to Canton, Ohio, and asked him if he had ever been there. Mr. Debs replied, "Oh yes, I made a speech there once." Because of the mixed feelings towards the war, the American public began to sympathize with Debs, and urged his pardon. Despite a recommendation for clemency, President Wilson – who prided himself upon being a liberal – refused to pardon Debs. He even went so far as to declare that as long as he was Chief Executive Debs would remain in jail. To this Debs responded: "It is Wilson who needs a pardon from the American people, and if I had it within my power, I would grant him the pardon that would set him free." Indeed Debs did make a bid to take over President Wilson's job by running his presidential campaign from jail, in the 1920 election. Debs threw his hat into the ring for the final time. Because of the policies that come along with being convicted for violating the Espionage Act, Debs' was disenfranchised for life, and his citizenship was revoked. Regardless, Debs, as he had proven time and time again, was running not to win but to make a point. Despite his restrictions, Debs still gathered 913,693 votes, which equaled almost six percent of the total vote.

In March 1921, after Debs had served about three years of his term, Warren G. Harding succeeded Wilson in the White House. On Christmas Day of that year, President Harding released Debs from prison. Though Debs was released he was not fully pardoned or restored to full citizenship.

For the remainder of Debs' life he resided in Indiana, occasionally doing speaking tours, speaking out as he always had. Only five years after his release from prison, Eugene Victor Debs died on October 20, 1926 at age 71. Working people throughout the world honored Debs' name. In Madison Square Garden in New York, a huge meeting paid its respects to the memory of Debs.

Though the events in Eugene Debs's life from 1918-1921 truly transformed political behavior of his time, the effects of his actions are never more obvious than in today's society. In fact, it seems the average politician is not truly considered a force unless they are willing to speak out against some of the world's most crucial topics. Not to mention the incredible importance placed on coming to Ohio during election campaigns. Debs was a starting point for so many political trends that seem merely commonplace today.

One last important fact to consider in Debs' transformation of third-party politics is his talent as an orator. Like many politicians of the time such as Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan, Debs utilized his speaking skills. Though few recordings exist of Debs speaking, Debs was known as a great orator with a loud and booming voice. One Detroit paper said of his eloquence and his power to interest people in what he had to say that, "There is but one man in the United States that can draw such an audience in Detroit to listen to the discussion of the labor question from the standpoint of the labor agitator, and that man is Eugene V. Debs." Debs took notice of other leaders speaking skills as well. Debs believed in bringing outstanding leaders who were good speakers before the people in support of unpopular causes. In this way, not only did Debs help change politics by his own methods, but he also allowed other smaller voices to be heard through his popularity.



One last important fact to consider in Debs' transformation of third-party politics is his talent as an orator.



As we know today, a candidate's verbal and speaking skill are always a huge part of whether the public is willing to listen. Debs was one of the first to really use his speaking mannerisms to his advantage.

While the Canton speech can be viewed as a turning point in bold third party politics, Debs accomplished many things in his lifetime. Debs witnessed the effects of popular political action as well as third-party movements on the older political parties. And he saw flowing from such political activity the adoption of woman suffrage, passage of workingmen's compensation laws, steps toward the abolition of child labor, and the popular election of United States senators.

His affects were felt long after his passing. It was not long after Debs died that the people won other battles which he and his comrades fought for. For example, militant industrial unions would open to all workers regardless of sex, color, creed or craft. Debs' effects on society are not restricted to the third-party movement alone, but on all types of movements. Reflected here however, is the contribution Debs made to the third-party – almost unknowingly. Regardless, none gave more to the movement than Eugene Debs.

So we arrive back at the original question. How was third party politics transformed by Eugene Deb's Canton speech in 1918 in Ohio? The hope is that the details supplied here through past writings, quotations, and resources answer the question by themselves. No third-party political figures sacrificed themselves the way Debs did in Ohio. No third-party candidate, or major party candidate for that matter, truly utilized Ohio the way Debs did. No candidate before Debs used his voice to command listeners the way Debs did. The debates and fights over freedom of speech, United States involvement in the world, and social change are no longer taboo and politically incorrect for any member of any party to discuss. These topics are fair game, and these topics are crucial. As an old man, Eugene Debs knew the sacrifice he had to make in order for change to occur in this country. He made those sacrifices, and now because of those sacrifices, third-party politicians in the United States have a stronger voice, receive more attention, and can make a difference.

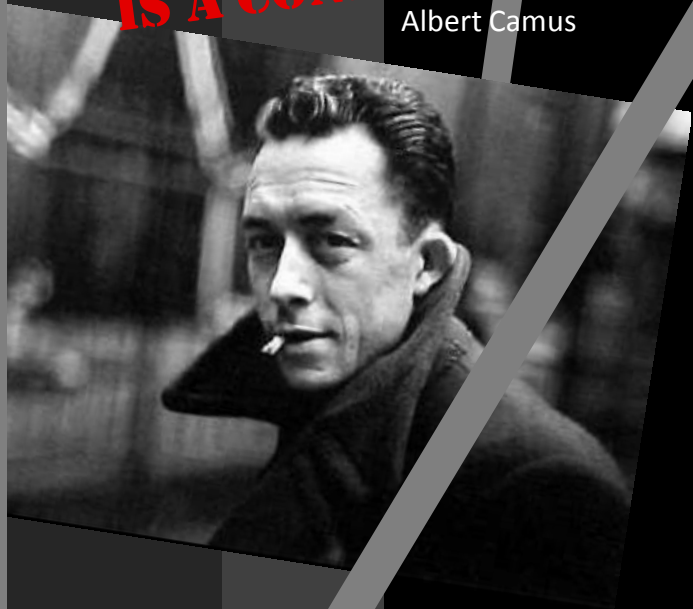


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**A GUILTY  
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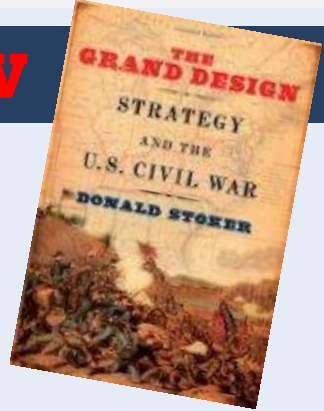
Albert Camus



# BOOK REVIEW

by Viperlord

*The Grand Design* is a study of strategy and it's evolution on both sides throughout the American Civil War, the first real book of it's kind in ACW literature though hopefully not the last. Stoker begins by reminding us of the differences between tactics, operations, strategy, and policy. In essence, the book is a combination of history, observation, and what might have been, and in this regard it is generally successful, with many astute observations about strategy throughout the war.



Not surprisingly, Lincoln and Davis feature prominently. Lincoln's lack of military experience turned out not to be such a curse; indeed, it's shown throughout that Davis' belief in his own abilities cost the Confederacy dearly. Lincoln was a quick learner and possessed a great deal of common sense, and was quicker to understand the evolving nature of the war, it's goals, and the strategy required to win it than most. On the other hand, in contrast to the common view of Lincoln as a master strategist, he generally failed to forcefully impose his view on his generals. Here the lack of experience likely played into a slight uncertainty that led Lincoln to not be forceful enough in many of his dealings with his generals, which isn't to say he didn't interfere and meddle with them on occasion. Lincoln recognized the political objectives and nature of the war better than anyone, but often faltered in his use of military means to accomplish them. Stoker targets Henry Halleck for a great deal of criticism throughout the book, and notes that Lincoln made a mistake in keeping him on for so long. While Lincoln was quick to recognize that Lee's army was the most important objective in the East, he failed to successfully impart this view to his generals for some time, though perhaps Halleck had come around by the time of Gettysburg. I feel Stoker's view of Lincoln as commander-in-chief is balanced and pretty much hits the mark.

Davis is treated considerably less generously than Lincoln. Unlike Lincoln, he was incapable of the least bit of tact when dealing with his generals. While Lincoln would write an angry letter to vent his frustrations, then tuck it away, Davis would send and publicize that letter, often engaging in a war of words with his generals. Davis' military experience led him to make himself his own general in chief for nearly the entire duration of the war, and he blocked several efforts to establish a Confederate chief general. This was a serious mistake on Davis' part, more-so than the overplayed notion of the Confederate departmental system, which had it's flaws, but wasn't as bad as sometimes portrayed. Davis didn't really have any consistent strategy for the war, and badly misapprehended the economic effects of the war in many regards. He first attempted a cordon defense policy that was unworkable due to the South's immense borders and inferior overall manpower. Later, he switched to a more offensive policy which he more or less stuck to throughout the war.

Unlike Lincoln, Davis struggled in dealing with the political nature of the war, and had even more issues controlling his generals. He imparted no overall military strategy or political policy to them, leading to strategic blunders like Polk's violation of Kentucky's neutrality, which Davis eventually supported. By the end of the war, Davis' obsessive determination to fight on was reaching the delusional.





Each significant strategic general gets his due time in the book. Halleck comes in for severe criticism for a myriad of reasons. Lee comes in for general praise regarding his understanding of strategy as well as attempting to influence the North politically. Grant and Sherman both receive very high marks for their strategic understanding and prosecution of the war. Joseph Johnston plays prominently, and I get the sense that Stoker couldn't quite make up his own mind on the enigmatic Johnston, as his treatment doesn't seem entirely consistent throughout the book. Generally Johnston comes in for more criticism than praise, yet Stoker concludes Johnston's approach to the Atlanta Campaign --while motivated by weakness, not strategic insight-- was the correct one. McClellan is covered extensively, and while Stoker notes his strategic and organizational talents, he harshly lampoons McClellan's delusions regarding Confederate strength and his complete inability to execute any of his sound plans, noting McClellan lacked the moral courage and determination that Clausewitz says is essential in a great commander. I found this particularly interesting as our own 67th Tigers recommended the book, as it unmercifully tears into more than a few notions that he's espoused here.

Obviously the book covers the significant campaigns of the war as well. One observation I found interesting was Stoker's claim that Grant's Vicksburg Campaign, while brilliant, was waged against a secondary target, and that Grant should have been used against Bragg in Tennessee. He's short on details in what exactly he thinks should have happened here however, and I believe he underrates the importance of dealing with Vicksburg and Pemberton's army. Eliminating both opened up more options for the Union in many regards, further dividing the Confederacy and compartmentalizing the war for the Union. On more solid ground is his criticism of Halleck and Buell for failing to secure the important target of Chattanooga in mid-1862 when very little prevented them from doing so.

Stoker flat-out states that the book is a top-down treatment of the war, so it's not surprising that a few Civil War clichés on the campaign and tactical level get coughed up. Stoker off-handedly makes the astounding statement that Grant lost over 3,800 men in *eight minutes* at Cold Harbor, and doesn't source this assertion. He also harshly criticizes George Meade's actions after Gettysburg while making no note of the difficulties confronting Meade. Most egregiously, he casually asserts Meade was weak and hesitant in not attacking at Williamsport while making absolutely no mention of the strength of Lee's fortifications there and not mentioning that the few commanders who supported attacking recanted their views after a close examination of the works. I think he also goes on to make one of the same mistakes Lincoln did in dismissively lumping in William Rosecrans as well as Meade with the lot of overcautious and timid generals throughout the war, and he calls Rosecrans' Tullahoma Campaign "not brilliant", which is a statement I would dispute. While Stoker does a good job of covering early-war naval and coastal activities, he slacks off on this as he goes deeper into the narrative.

The books succeeds at it's basic task of discussing and analyzing Civil War strategy in a comprehensible manner, and I certainly learned a few things while reading it. A background knowledge of Civil War history is definitely recommended in reading this book, and it's not flawless. That said, it's well worth the read, and certainly has more strengths than weaknesses. It's coverage of the first and last years of the war is a particular strength, and generally the strategic analysis is spot-on. Definitely recommended if you're interested in the topic.



Will the  
REAL



Niall  
OIGÍALLACH



please  
STAND UP



**Niall Noígíallach**, better known by the English translation of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was one of the earliest Irish Kings, regarded by most modern scholars as the first genuinely historical one. His life and reign are infamous, despite the fact that modern scholarship postulates that he lived some 50 years after the traditional account claims. In this essay, I will recount the traditional life of Niall, as well as making a short explanation of the current position on his actual reign.

**The accounts** of how he earned his name differ, though Keating's account which we'll be relying on largely, gives it as his receiving five hostages from the five provinces of Ireland, and four from Scotland. The renowned early Irish scholar T.F. O'Rahilly suggested that the traditional accounts were confused, and that the petty kingdom of Airgíalla in Ulster gave all nine hostages, noting their obligation to do so in *Lebor na gCeart*. [1] While that is probably a more accurate representation, it is not claimed by any of the ancient sources. Niall's fame stems from one of the prisoners he enslaved in his raids on Roman Britain. A boy, one of many taken on Niall's expeditions, called Patricius. Patricius would go on to play a huge role in the History of Ireland, and it is thanks to him that Ireland grew to play a huge role on the world stage, and that the early history of the island nation was recorded. It is worth noting that the claims that Niall lived 50 years later are supplemented by a claim that St. Patrick too lived 50 years later, and the traditional account has confused Patrick with Palladius (possibly another Bishop sent to Ireland) and in an attempt to amalgamate the two bishops, historians of the middle ages pushed Niall's reign back.



The example of foreign raiding had been set by Niall's predecessors. Prior to the fourth century, any fear of an invasion would have been the Irish fearing the Romans. With the collapse of Rome however, the Irish found Roman territories easy pickings, just like the many other "barbarian" peoples. The island that would go on to protect and preserve the culture of Rome was one of the architects of its destruction, even if it played a small part. Niall receives widespread renown as the leader and chief architect of "The Barbarian Conspiracy", though there is no solid evidence that the Irish King was its leader. Certainly whoever the Irish King at the time of the Barbarian conspiracy was, he was active in it, just not certainly as its leader.



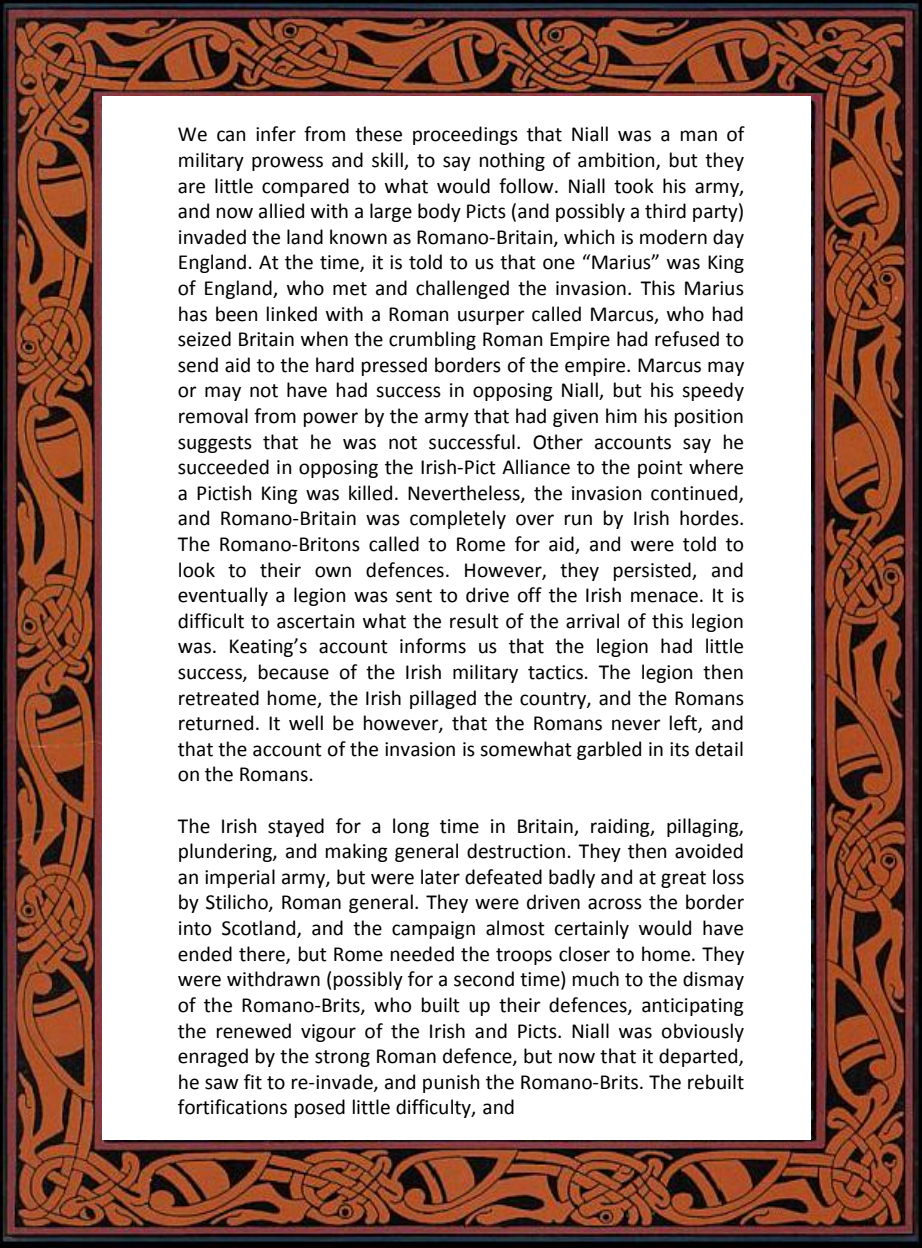
Increasingly, Irish Kings would raid Britain particularly, without fear of reprisal. Crimthann Mór Mac Fidaig would launch a particularly daring invasion of Scotland, though the Romans maintain it ended badly for the Irish, Crimthann nevertheless added the title "King of Alba" to his name. Other Kings had fought with Rome increasingly from the third century onward, starting with Cormac mac Airt. Niall epitomised the height of this trend. The chronology of the Annals of the Four Masters dates his ascension to the throne at 379 A.D. as per the traditional account. There are a few accounts of domestic disputes during this period, including than a dispute between Niall and the Prince of Leinster, Eochaid. That dispute would be one which Niall would have cause to regret later in his life. The circumstances surrounding the domestic dispute vary from account to account. In one of our sources, we are told that Niall warred with Leinster over their refusal to pay the tribute imposed by the first Gaelic King, and likely the first High King, Túathal Techtmar. [2] Other accounts, such as the legendary tale "The Death of Niall of the Nine Hostages", indicate that the enmity between Eochaid, Prince of Leinster, and Niall, was begun over a fight between the former and Niall's chief poet. Both versions of the story have Niall winning out over Eochaid in the original instance, and exiling him. It is probable, as far as we can ascertain that this war or conflict between Leinster and the High King was begun and ended before Niall's raids abroad. While the military campaigns of Niall likely belong to another King, the dispute with Leinster is consistent with the historical Niall. Eochaid's family genealogy places him 50 years after traditional Niall, and



this was one of the main motivators for the re-investigation of his reign. Therefore, separation of those two elements of the story should be made, before we look at the traditional account of Niall's reign.

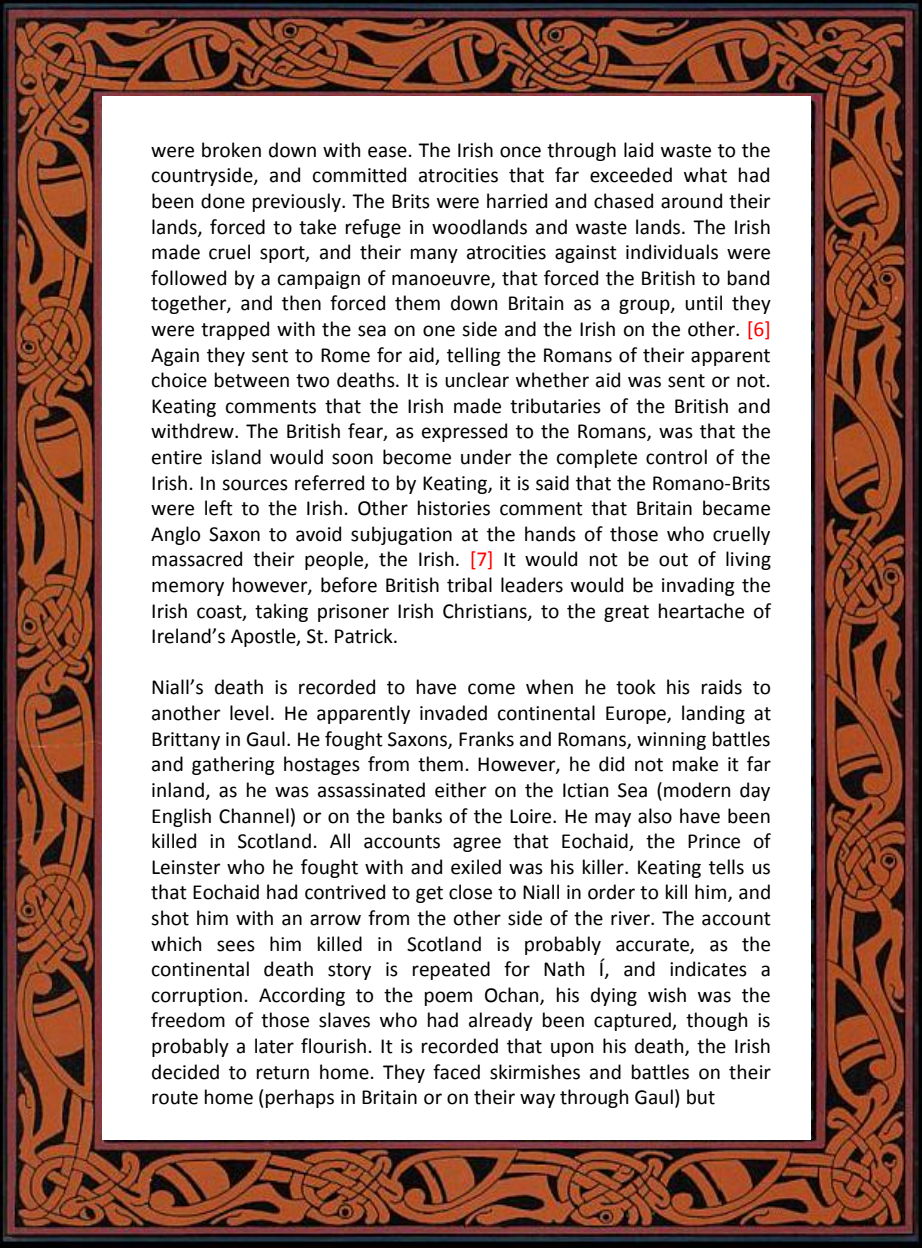


Niall may have made some preliminary raids into Britain before the ones that are best recounted in the Irish historical tradition. [3] It is supposed that St. Patrick was taken in 400 AD or 401 AD [4], which indicates that Niall was not altogether amicable towards his neighbours before he received *cassus belli* from the Gaeil of Scotland, likely some five years after. Some considerable time into his reign, Niall seized an opportunity to invade Britain with a large national army. According to Keating [5], the opportunity was presented when the Gaeil in Pictland, today's Scotland, called on him to defend them from either the Picts or the Romans. Niall gathered his forces and invaded, under the condition that Pictland be renamed *Scotia minor* (Ireland was *Scotia*, and to be known as *Scotia Major*) as the Irish were at that time known as *Scots*. This link may have indicated a wish on the part of Niall to become ruler over Scotland and maybe all of Britain. Niall's invasion of Scotland went quickly and well, because he extended Irish influence there, and ended up creating an alliance between the Irish and the Picts.



We can infer from these proceedings that Niall was a man of military prowess and skill, to say nothing of ambition, but they are little compared to what would follow. Niall took his army, and now allied with a large body Picts (and possibly a third party) invaded the land known as Romano-Britain, which is modern day England. At the time, it is told to us that one "Marius" was King of England, who met and challenged the invasion. This Marius has been linked with a Roman usurper called Marcus, who had seized Britain when the crumbling Roman Empire had refused to send aid to the hard pressed borders of the empire. Marcus may or may not have had success in opposing Niall, but his speedy removal from power by the army that had given him his position suggests that he was not successful. Other accounts say he succeeded in opposing the Irish-Pict Alliance to the point where a Pictish King was killed. Nevertheless, the invasion continued, and Romano-Britain was completely over run by Irish hordes. The Romano-Britons called to Rome for aid, and were told to look to their own defences. However, they persisted, and eventually a legion was sent to drive off the Irish menace. It is difficult to ascertain what the result of the arrival of this legion was. Keating's account informs us that the legion had little success, because of the Irish military tactics. The legion then retreated home, the Irish pillaged the country, and the Romans returned. It well be however, that the Romans never left, and that the account of the invasion is somewhat garbled in its detail on the Romans.

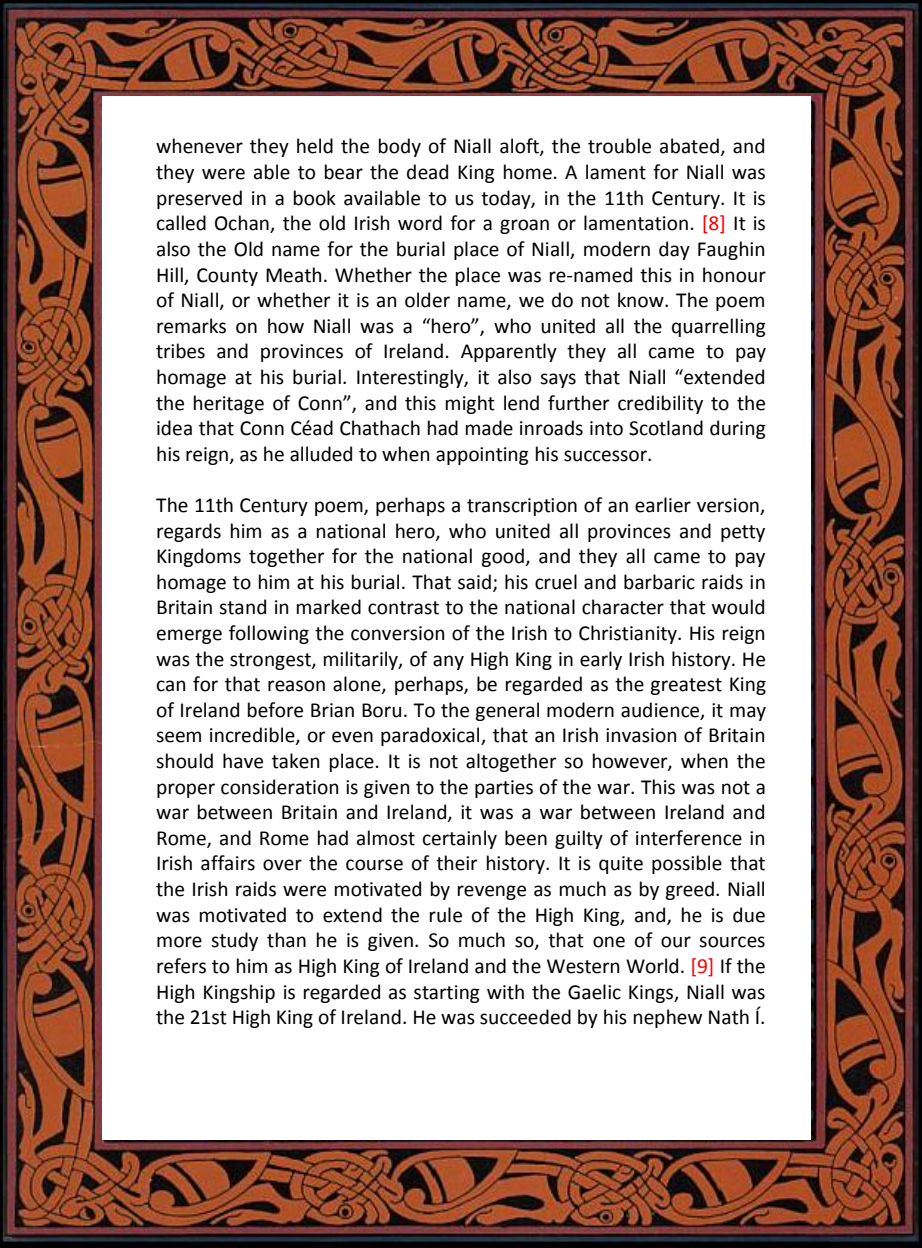
The Irish stayed for a long time in Britain, raiding, pillaging, plundering, and making general destruction. They then avoided an imperial army, but were later defeated badly and at great loss by Stilicho, Roman general. They were driven across the border into Scotland, and the campaign almost certainly would have ended there, but Rome needed the troops closer to home. They were withdrawn (possibly for a second time) much to the dismay of the Romano-Brits, who built up their defences, anticipating the renewed vigour of the Irish and Picts. Niall was obviously enraged by the strong Roman defence, but now that it departed, he saw fit to re-invade, and punish the Romano-Brits. The rebuilt fortifications posed little difficulty, and



were broken down with ease. The Irish once through laid waste to the countryside, and committed atrocities that far exceeded what had been done previously. The Brits were harried and chased around their lands, forced to take refuge in woodlands and waste lands. The Irish made cruel sport, and their many atrocities against individuals were followed by a campaign of manoeuvre, that forced the British to band together, and then forced them down Britain as a group, until they were trapped with the sea on one side and the Irish on the other. [6] Again they sent to Rome for aid, telling the Romans of their apparent choice between two deaths. It is unclear whether aid was sent or not. Keating comments that the Irish made tributaries of the British and withdrew. The British fear, as expressed to the Romans, was that the entire island would soon become under the complete control of the Irish. In sources referred to by Keating, it is said that the Romano-Brits were left to the Irish. Other histories comment that Britain became Anglo Saxon to avoid subjugation at the hands of those who cruelly massacred their people, the Irish. [7] It would not be out of living memory however, before British tribal leaders would be invading the Irish coast, taking prisoner Irish Christians, to the great heartache of Ireland's Apostle, St. Patrick.

Niall's death is recorded to have come when he took his raids to another level. He apparently invaded continental Europe, landing at Brittany in Gaul. He fought Saxons, Franks and Romans, winning battles and gathering hostages from them. However, he did not make it far inland, as he was assassinated either on the Ictian Sea (modern day English Channel) or on the banks of the Loire. He may also have been killed in Scotland. All accounts agree that Eochaid, the Prince of Leinster who he fought with and exiled was his killer. Keating tells us that Eochaid had contrived to get close to Niall in order to kill him, and shot him with an arrow from the other side of the river. The account which sees him killed in Scotland is probably accurate, as the continental death story is repeated for Nath Í, and indicates a corruption. According to the poem Ochan, his dying wish was the freedom of those slaves who had already been captured, though is probably a later flourish. It is recorded that upon his death, the Irish decided to return home. They faced skirmishes and battles on their route home (perhaps in Britain or on their way through Gaul) but

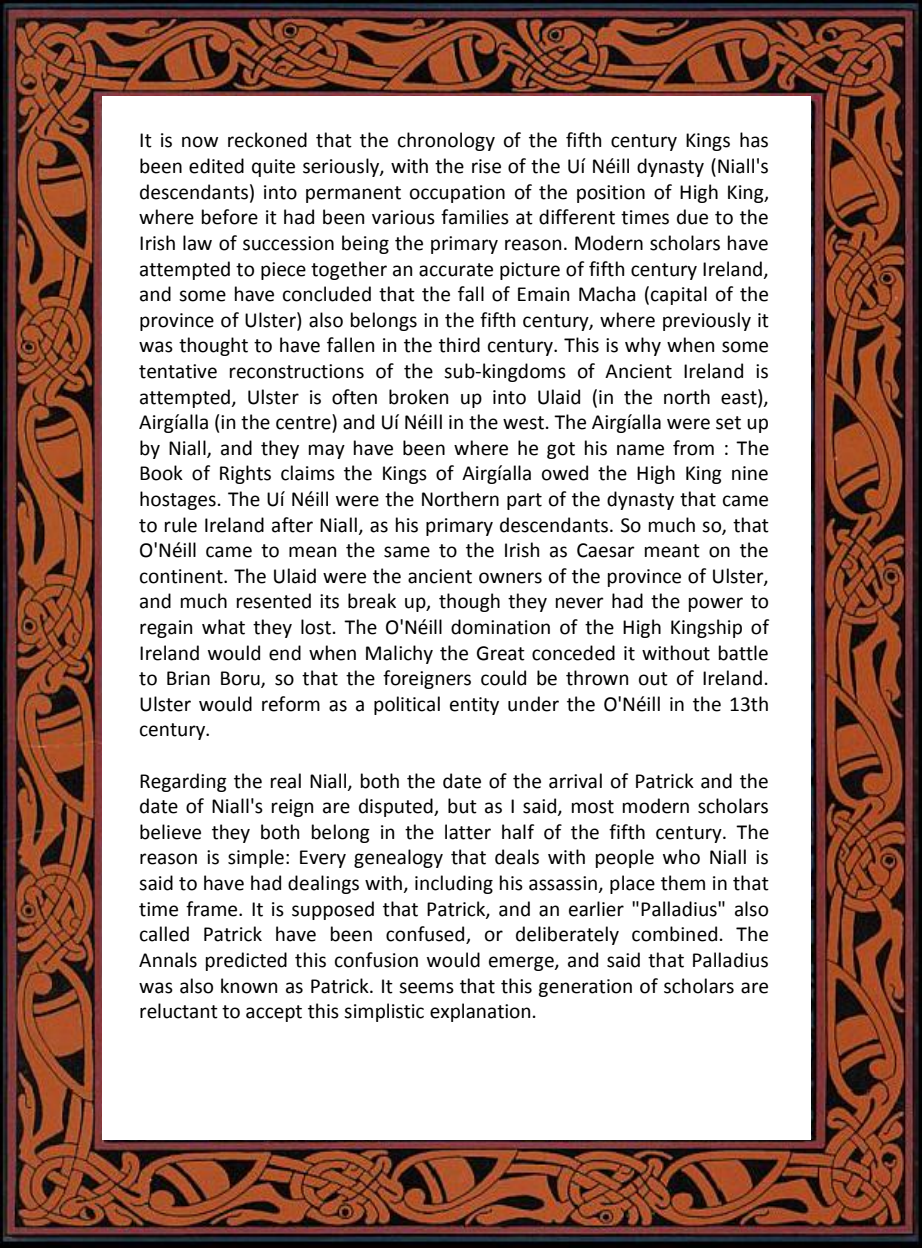


A decorative border of intricate Celtic knotwork, featuring interlaced lines and stylized knot motifs, surrounds the text area.

whenever they held the body of Niall aloft, the trouble abated, and they were able to bear the dead King home. A lament for Niall was preserved in a book available to us today, in the 11th Century. It is called Ochan, the old Irish word for a groan or lamentation. [8] It is also the Old name for the burial place of Niall, modern day Faughin Hill, County Meath. Whether the place was re-named this in honour of Niall, or whether it is an older name, we do not know. The poem remarks on how Niall was a “hero”, who united all the quarrelling tribes and provinces of Ireland. Apparently they all came to pay homage at his burial. Interestingly, it also says that Niall “extended the heritage of Conn”, and this might lend further credibility to the idea that Conn Céad Chathach had made inroads into Scotland during his reign, as he alluded to when appointing his successor.

The 11th Century poem, perhaps a transcription of an earlier version, regards him as a national hero, who united all provinces and petty Kingdoms together for the national good, and they all came to pay homage to him at his burial. That said; his cruel and barbaric raids in Britain stand in marked contrast to the national character that would emerge following the conversion of the Irish to Christianity. His reign was the strongest, militarily, of any High King in early Irish history. He can for that reason alone, perhaps, be regarded as the greatest King of Ireland before Brian Boru. To the general modern audience, it may seem incredible, or even paradoxical, that an Irish invasion of Britain should have taken place. It is not altogether so however, when the proper consideration is given to the parties of the war. This was not a war between Britain and Ireland, it was a war between Ireland and Rome, and Rome had almost certainly been guilty of interference in Irish affairs over the course of their history. It is quite possible that the Irish raids were motivated by revenge as much as by greed. Niall was motivated to extend the rule of the High King, and, he is due more study than he is given. So much so, that one of our sources refers to him as High King of Ireland and the Western World. [9] If the High Kingship is regarded as starting with the Gaelic Kings, Niall was the 21st High King of Ireland. He was succeeded by his nephew Nath Í.



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It is now reckoned that the chronology of the fifth century Kings has been edited quite seriously, with the rise of the Uí Néill dynasty (Niall's descendants) into permanent occupation of the position of High King, where before it had been various families at different times due to the Irish law of succession being the primary reason. Modern scholars have attempted to piece together an accurate picture of fifth century Ireland, and some have concluded that the fall of Emain Macha (capital of the province of Ulster) also belongs in the fifth century, where previously it was thought to have fallen in the third century. This is why when some tentative reconstructions of the sub-kingdoms of Ancient Ireland is attempted, Ulster is often broken up into Ulaid (in the north east), Airgíalla (in the centre) and Uí Néill in the west. The Airgíalla were set up by Niall, and they may have been where he got his name from : The Book of Rights claims the Kings of Airgíalla owed the High King nine hostages. The Uí Néill were the Northern part of the dynasty that came to rule Ireland after Niall, as his primary descendants. So much so, that O'Néill came to mean the same to the Irish as Caesar meant on the continent. The Ulaid were the ancient owners of the province of Ulster, and much resented its break up, though they never had the power to regain what they lost. The O'Néill domination of the High Kingship of Ireland would end when Malichy the Great conceded it without battle to Brian Boru, so that the foreigners could be thrown out of Ireland. Ulster would reform as a political entity under the O'Néill in the 13th century.

Regarding the real Niall, both the date of the arrival of Patrick and the date of Niall's reign are disputed, but as I said, most modern scholars believe they both belong in the latter half of the fifth century. The reason is simple: Every genealogy that deals with people who Niall is said to have had dealings with, including his assassin, place them in that time frame. It is supposed that Patrick, and an earlier "Palladius" also called Patrick have been confused, or deliberately combined. The Annals predicted this confusion would emerge, and said that Palladius was also known as Patrick. It seems that this generation of scholars are reluctant to accept this simplistic explanation.

Palladius was largely unsuccessful, and his is the 431/2 AD date. Patrick was successful, but his was the later date. So, that would mean that Niall's reign has been applied to others, and he has been applied to the reign of other Kings. It is probable that the Niall we know from his raids on Britain is historical, but later than the reigns which coincided with Stilicho and the Roman narrative.

Niall's true achievements lie in the now thought possibly fictitious reigns of Fiacha Sroiptine and Colla Uais, who may be a double for other historical characters, Niall's sons. They may have been created to remove Niall's reign from it's appropriate timespan. However, some studies claim to trace the genealogy of the Colla Uais, so this period is still up for re-interpretation. Niall's genealogy is also of some interest, with him being, apparently, an ancestor for 20% of the Irish population, including 80% of the population of Ulster. That's not to mention a 10% stake in the ancestry of Scotland.

Niall's father's name suggests his being an invader of Britain at the time we've been discussing, as it means "ruler of slaves". (Eochaid Mugmedon).



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Some of you may have seen a few lines here and there from my posts previously. My apologies, I borrowed them to avoid having to re-phrase myself. Not all sources are listed in the reference. For a more comprehensive list, feel free to ask. As always, all work is my own, and if any of it is mistaken, feel free to tell me.

**ALL COMMENTS AND OPINIONS WELCOMED.**

Thanks for reading.

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[1] T.F. O'Rahilly, "Early Irish History and Mythology". 1946. Chapter 12.

[2] Lebor Gabála Érenn, pg. 349

[3] Thomas Moore "History of Ireland Volume I". pg 150

[4] Thomas Cahill "How the Irish Saved Civilization". Chapter 4

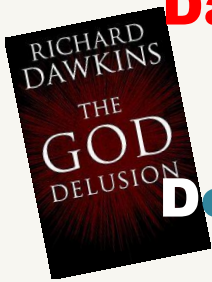
[5] Geoffrey Keating "Foras Feasa ar Eirinn". M. Haverty. 1857. Pg 324

[6] Martin Haverty, "The History of Ireland from the earliest period to the present time", pg 44

[7] Martin Haverty, "The History of Ireland from the earliest period to the present time", pg 44 : "It was to resist the Irish Invaders that Britain was obliged to become an Anglo Saxon Nation".

[8] The Electronic Dictionary of the Irish language - 23/06/2012, :  
<http://www.dil.ie/results-list.asp?F...page=10&bhcp=1>

[9] Lebor Gabála Érenn, Pg 349.



# Dawkins and his God Delusion

by Gile na Gile

In the "God Delusion", Dawkins - himself in the grip of a rationalist fever reminiscent of the parched academia of George Eliot's Dr. Casaubon - maintains that the success and survival of religion requires for him a strictly Darwinian explanation. He expresses his dissatisfaction with several theories which attempt to do this; namely (1) the stress and placebo effect - it provides solace and comfort during trying times such as bereavement (2) it answers our fear of death and mortality and (3) that religion satisfies our innate curiosity about ultimate origins and the nature of the universe. He ultimately rejects all these as he feels they are too weak in and of themselves to explain religion's widespread diffusion and instead plumps for the "by-product" explanation, popularised most notably by the evolutionary biologist, Stephen Jay Gould.

In one of his more scathing moments Dawkins says; "religious behaviour in humans is a misfiring, an unfortunate manifestation of an underlying psychological propensity that was once useful". This is in line with Gould's metaphor of the "spandrel" ( a non-utilitarian appendage which just happens to be formed when two arches meet) to explain how religious thought originally emerged. This is typical of the views of the "by-product" camp that see a susceptibility to religious belief as an outgrowth of the brain's complex architecture. Whilst evolving to tackle head-on pragmatic difficulties, the brain has also evolved, quite unfortunately of course, a "god-centre".

They have also used theory of mind/folk psychology to explain how the mind can form ideas of "disembodied entities" with their own personalities, wishes and desires. With Dawkins, the focus is incessantly upon the ultimate truth status of the claim that there is a God. Lately, he seems intent on satisfying his own scruples on the matter by consulting with particle physicists such as Stephen Weinberg on the nature of the big bang and on ultimate origins. He seemed particularly keen to press Weinberg on his ideas of the multiverse - the multiple "big bang" hypothesis. Presumably, this is because he is aware that in "our universe" there are just too many exact ratios; for example the binding strength of an electron to a hydrogen nucleus - which provide grist to the mill of those who wish to argue from the point of view of Intelligent Design - anathema to author of the Blind Watchmaker. What we are seeing here is a man in the grip of a personal crusade intent on stretching the jurisdictional competence of his chosen field - the invention of the meme for instance so he can deliberate on cultural phenomena, mostly of the religious kind, and most often in a derogatory fashion. If an anthropologist were to treat his object of study with the same degree of scorn he would be quickly run out of town.

The difficulty I have with Dawkins is that he views religion almost exclusively through the reductionist prism of Darwinian natural selection. In addition, he seems wholly oblivious that he is in complete opposition to the thoughts and behaviour of 90% of the human race - dismissing them in effect as irrational. In a development studies seminar I was at once we were discussing supernatural beliefs as they were so prevalent in the "underdeveloped" countries and a chap from Ethiopia said, in reference to the Ganges rituals; "Listen, you don't have to ask whether or not these beliefs are true or false, that doesn't matter, the effects of the supernatural are all around you to see for



yourselves, thousands upon thousands of people are bathing themselves in the water. It is there, it can be seen, it can be observed and touched. It is a reality". There was, moreover, no judgement of the rightness and wrongness of this behaviour implied in this observation. The best way of looking at this is, I think, to accept that unlike any other species homo sapiens has produced a dazzling array of different types - the majority of whom appear to be happy to entertain notions of a "higher power" and most of them in turn appear equally content to ritually worship a localised version of this deity. Some again appear to get their kicks pouring scorn on such behaviour. All the colours of the rainbow, it seems.

Religion is much more than the declaration that there is a God in the heavens, benevolent or otherwise. It has become for many a social ritual; it has a social dimension that Dawkins appears to be completely unwilling or unable to account for, at least in anything I've read - He views a preacher as the spreader of a meme virus and the church itself as the locus of epidemiology. I mean, most people I know that go to church could not claim any in-depth knowledge of scripture but they all have some kind of a conception of a "Creator Being" and it is this which provides sufficient justification to listen to their particular account of it - be it Christian, Judaic or Islamic.

Where Dawkins and the by-product camp have difficulty it seems is in finding an adaptive purpose for religion precisely because of this narrow perspective that they have chosen to view it from. Don't you get the sense that Darwinist principles become less and less applicable the more complex societies become? I mean, the structural-functionalists solved this problem seventy years ago by studying an institution simply

in terms of what functions it carried out; what purposes it served. Emile Durkheim's long analysis "The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life" concluded that religion had three major functions; (1) Disciplinary - it enforced ethics and morals, provided guidelines (2) Cohesive; brought people together, strengthened bonds (3) It is vitalizing and euphoric; it contributed to well-being, confidence and gave a boost to the spirits (no pun intended). Is this not enough? Is this not sufficient explanation of its adaptive capability. The proof, in fact, appears to be in the pudding - religion's very ubiquity demonstrates quite well that it serves many purposes.

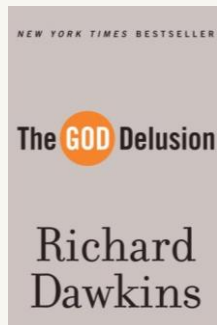
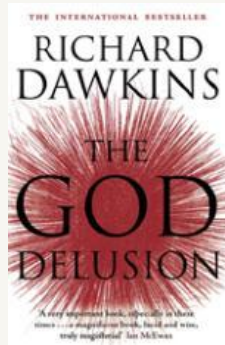
Religion has its origins in the animistic beliefs and practices of archaic homo sapiens and probably emerged in East Africa during the time of the Upper Paleolithic some 50-60,000 years ago. Jared Diamond has speculated that the most common cause of death in these early hunter-gatherer bands was murder and in this world where life was "nasty, brutish and short" it led me to reflect on the Dawkins genotype and what role could have been played there by such a spindly, cerebral character. I cannot easily envisage him holding out long in a life and death struggle with a rival clan, or having the physicality to provide for those around him in an often harsh, brutal, dog-eat-dog environment.

On the contrary, I would imagine his genotype would welcome and perhaps be responsible for initiating the institution of a set of beliefs with their accompanying moral edicts and sanctions prohibiting the wanton taking of life, and thereby ensuring the protection of the weak and disadvantaged - snails otherwise crushed underfoot by the brute logic of force.

When I see how easily he takes to the evangelical role of enlightening the world as to the so-called "irrational" propositions of organised religion via reference to the gospel of Darwinist natural selection - I can easily make the mental adjustment required to transport him back into the Palaeolithic and see in him all the characteristics of a proto-priest or shaman; arguing for group cohesion, the ending of senseless murder, of intra-clan conflict - and supporting his arguments by saying his authority derives from the all-encompassing eternal mother-goddess. Why? - because he will feel in his bones that this argument represents the only right path for the group and his outrage over the wanton malevolence of the clan's more brutish unthinking genotypes will stir his blood to such a degree that he will be wont to attribute his mental and bodily paroxysms - caused by the inlayering and sedimentation of a lifetime's violent sensory impressions - as being sacredly derived from an ancestral spiritual dimension. A thousand times this outrageous reverie, this dance of possession, may have occurred and a thousand times an axe head guided by the hand of the nearest brute force alpha male may have reigned down on the head of this demented and spiritualised imposter.

But, here and there, there were other dynamics, other groups who were prepared to listen, and were rapidly developing the capacity to do so - perhaps women themselves played a role, tired of being endlessly set upon in a world that knew no law - others who were prepared to engage empathically with the arguments and rationale of this new form of cerebral organisation that offered glimpses of peace of mind and security. It is not often remarked upon, but as the neocortex was expanding along with the front, temporal and parietal lobes (areas concerned with language and the executive functions; ie the type of judgement that informs morality), the gross physical strength of the homo erectus and other precursor hominid forms was likewise being gradually replaced by a much physically weaker homo sapiens.

Dawkins is entitled to deploy Darwinian principles in explaining group adaptation during this era but his barely disguised loathing for religion is colouring his perceptions of what those mechanics may have been - viewing the matter simply from the vantage point of what good can possibly be gained by positing the existence of things "which are patently untrue" is to ignore the living breathing complexities of a fully enculturated Paleolithic man, which is why the best insights for appreciating what is happening here are usually found coming from the sociologists and anthropologists - not experts in biological evolution.

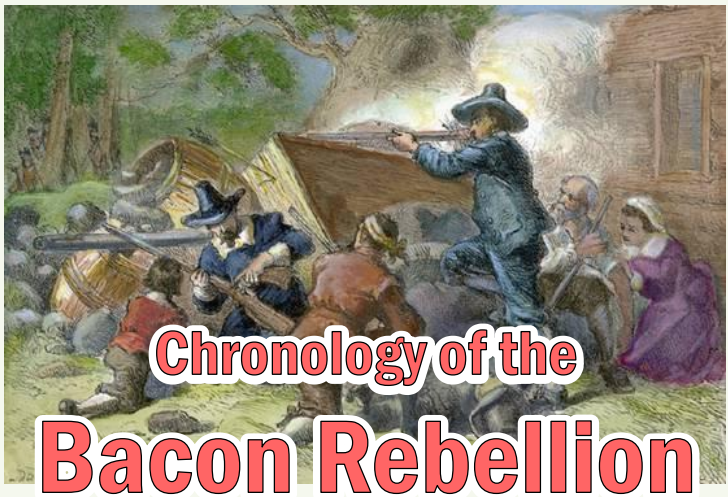




## Rainer Maria Rilke

Bohemian-Austrian poet  
1875 - 1926

"In our most recent century, which has almost died away now, people worked more and more on the *paysage intime*— they wanted to tell the story of the nameless individuals. Someone finally seemed to notice that battles don't only take place at Thermopylae or Hastings or Austerlitz, sometimes the battlefield is called Fear or Desire or Ingratitude; that not every discovery is of America; that not every invention has to arrive at gunpowder or the steam engine or the airship in order to be meaningful and, in a certain sense, fruitful. And so it has become the norm to present not true, authenticated heroes, but plausible, authentic-seeming heroes. To this end they have spent the last few decades ripping apart the heroes of the past and the usable contemporaries and putting together new, ever new possibilities from the unrecognizable pieces."



# Chronology of the Bacon Rebellion

compiled by scholar Baltis



## July 1675

Thomas Mathew (planter on the Potomac River Valley) got into a business dispute with some Doeg Indians from MD. He refused to pay so the Indians came and stole some of his hogs. Mathew and some others caught up to the thieves and some were killed. When the survivors reported back a revenge party was sent and killed an employee of Mathew's Plantation named Hen. Hen's death sparked a revenge party from VA who, led by George Brent and George Mason, trapped the Doeg party in a cabin and called for a parley.



A Doeg chief came out and tried to deny the killing at which time he was shot dead. A fight broke out and Brent's men killed ten Indians and captured the chief's son. At the same time, Mason and his group trapped a second group of Indians and killed some 14 of them. Unfortunately for Mason, the second group turned out to be Susquehanna who were friends to the English in VA. Mason halted the shooting in a panic but the damage was done.





### **August 31, 1675**

Governor Berkeley sent Col Washington and Major Allerton to "make a full and thorough inquisition" of the murders and causes thereof. Instead of investigating, Washington and Allerton called out the militia and requested Maryland sent militia to help them.

### **September 14, 1675**

Berkeley rebukes Nathaniel Bacon for accusing some local Appomattox Indians of stealing corn even though he had no knowledge the corn was even stolen. He said the accusations would only serve to alienate friendly Indians.

### **September 26, 1675**

The combined MD and VA force arrived at the Susquehannock Fort on the MD side of the Potomac and requested a parley. They accused the Susquehannock of certain outrages currently happening on the frontier. Ten chiefs parleyed with Major Truman. They denied the accusations and blamed the Seneca. All ten of the chiefs were then murdered even though under an agreement of truce. The MD leader, Major Truman, accused the Virginians of the murders. Washington and Allerton accused Truman of the murders. Berkeley was furious at the breach of moral behavior but his own investigation seemed to clear the Virginians.

The Susquehannock Fort was under siege for several weeks but, late one night, they slipped out of the fort and killed ten English guards on their way to safety. The VA and MD troops became disenchanted and went home after robbing the Indians of whatever they left behind.



Governor Berkeley



### **January 1676**

The Susquehannocks pulled a raid deep into the VA settlements and killed 36 people near the Falls of the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers. The raiders melted into the wilderness making the Virginians feel helpless in search of a defense. Meanwhile, news started filtering down about King Philip's War in New England making the VA citizenry extremely nervous.



### March 1676

Berkeley and the Assembly declare war on "all such Indians who are notoriously knowne or shalbe discovered to have committed the murthers, rapins and depra-dations aforesaid, their fautors ayders and abettors, and against all other suspected Indians who shall refuse to deliver us such sufficient hostages, or other security for their fidelity and good affection to the English \* \* \* " It is Berkeley's intent to spare the local tribes such as the Appomattox and Pamumkey.

In a separate act, the Assembly declared the death penalty for anyone selling firearms to the Indians, friendly or enemy. There were a few exceptions carved out for three commissioned traders to supply "the neighboring Indians". This law did not go over well with Nathaniel Bacon or his friends. Perhaps jealous at being excluded from a commission to trade, Bacon accused Berkeley of corruption and also of supplying "powder and shott etc. to the Indians then in arms against us." Others who supported Berkeley accused Bacon of acting out of spite because he wanted the Indian trade for himself. It is likely that neither accusation is truly correct.

The situation worsens as rumors fly of murders and attacks all around the colony. But always somewhere else and no burnings occurred. But some reports have as many as 300 dead. Gov Berkeley reports no more deaths in March or April.

### April 1676

The people soon tire of increased taxation for defense and begin to complain. Five hundred men is too many. Forts are a waste of money and don't work. The people were loudly blaming the Pamunkeys and Appomattox even though no evidence suggested they were guilty of anything but being Indians. A group of friends, James Crewes, Henry Isham, William Byrd, and Nathaniel Bacon were drinking one day and got loud and enthused by Bacon's tirade. They made him the leader of the local militia without Berkeley's consent causing the governor to issue warnings to Bacon against leading a rebellion and requesting him to come to Jamestown. Bacon said he would comply with the governor's authority but made excuse not to come and meet with Berkeley.

In spite of his promise not to, Bacon assumed the title "General of the Volunteers" and proceeded to promise to personally pay for raising the army against the local indians. First thing they did was terrorize the Pamunkeys so much they fled into hiding in the swamps. Bacon and his men immediately possessed the land of the Pamunkeys for themselves.





**May 3, 1676** - Berkeley tired of waiting on Bacon and gathered some 300 men for the purpose of riding to Henrico County and "call Mr. Bacon to accompt." Bacon heard they were coming and took his 200 men into the field against the Indians hoping to find "a more agreeable destiny then you are pleased to designe mee." Berkeley tried to regain control of the situation by promising pardon to everyone if they would just go home and be quiet. Berkeley promised action against the Indians and lower taxes. He promised Bacon and the other two leaders a "faire and legal triall."

While waiting on Bacon to return (or not) reports came in concerning the Queen of Pamunkey turning hostile and torturing an English interpreter who tried to meet with her. Berkeley declared all Indians as enemy "that have left their plantations." He now believed the Pamunkey had joined with the Susquehanna against the English.

Meanwhile, Bacon did not return but, instead, went to make war on the Susquehannock. Unfortunately, he was not capable of catching them and so he met with another friendly tribe, the Occaneechee at their home Fort. He asked them about the Susquehannocks to which the Occaneechee replied by offering to catch the offending Susquehannocks for Bacon. He immediately agreed and the Occaneechee Indians went off and attacked the Susquehannocks with great success. The killed many on the spot, freed some friends of theirs (Manakins), and brought prisoners back. They were presented to Bacon and then tortured to death.

At this point, Bacon began to covet the store of beaver pelts taken from the Susquehannocks and now held at the Occaneechee Fort and insisted upon having them. He turned on the friendly Indians and put their fort under siege. The Occaneechee chief protested that they should get to keep the plunder but Bacon persisted and his men made threatening gestures. One of the Manakins responded by shooting an Englishman and the fight was on. It went very badly for the Occaneechee and most were killed. Bacon's men took the pelts and went back to Henrico thinking themselves heroes.

**In truth, all Bacon did was kill some friendly Indians for personal gain.**

Gov Berkeley saw things quite differently but did not press the matter. He returned to Jamestown to prepare for the Assembly in June. Berkeley left word he was willing to forget what happened so far if Bacon would stop his independent campaign. In truth, all Bacon did was kill some friendly Indians for personal gain. The Susquehannocks had been killed by the friendly Indians. In any event, Bacon refused to back away from his conclusion that "all Indians in general, for that they were all Enemies; this I have allwaies said and do maintain". However, he did offer to make peace with the governor if it could be done without blemish to his honor. Bacon wanted a hearing before King Charles. Berkeley agreed but the council sent Bacon a letter suggesting he request a pardon from the Governor which they hinted would be well received.



### May 28, 1676

Bacon rejected the idea he might request pardon from the Governor and again demanded to be commissioned as general. Berkeley responded with a "Declaration and Remonstrance" against Bacon and his actions. He challenged Bacon come clean with any evidence of wrongdoing against Berkeley. He also declared Bacon's victory against the Indians to be treacherous and dishonorable to the English nation.

### June 3, 1676

When the Henrico County sheriff attempted to read and post the Governor's declaration, Bacon appeared with armed guards and stopped him. He then held and election and had himself and James Crewes named Burgess for the county.

### June 5, 1676

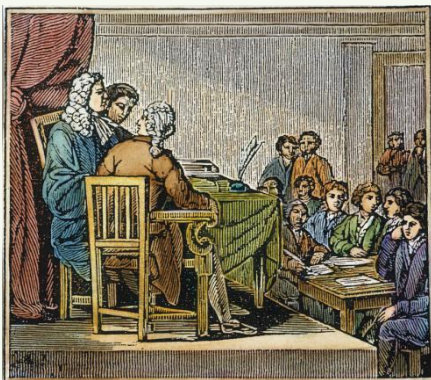
The assembly met and opened. Bacon did not make an appearance.

### June 6, 1676

Bacon sails down the James River toward Jamestown in a sloop with 50 armed men. The governor got wind of the situation and had Captain Thomas Gardner seize the ship and bring Bacon before the Governor. Unfortunately for Berkeley, Bacon had quite a few friends and they descended upon Jamestown to pressure Berkeley into setting Bacon free.

### June 9, 1676

Negotiations went on between Bacon and Berkeley with the result that Bacon appeared on his knees before the House of Burgesses and handed the governor a written confession. He promised to be a good subject in the future. At this point, Berkeley pardoned Bacon for all his past deeds. (Berkeley was later criticized for having been so lenient). Afterwards, a dispute broke out. Bacon had previously been unaware that all his supporters had arrived in town and felt emboldened. He now indicated that "one of the Burgesses proclaimed mee Generall" and insisted that Berkeley had agreed to sign his commission as General. Later evidence does seem to suggest that Berkeley made the promise but, nevertheless, he now refused to sign the commission. One Burgess at the time (Ludlow), indicated the problem may have been the form of commission being offered. What Berkeley had previously offered was no longer good enough for Bacon.



House of Burgesses





### June 10, 1676

Bacon waited around Jamestown for several days but then returned to Henrico County in a huff. The Burgesses considered the matter closed and had little contact with him during that time but became alarmed when he left town.

Berkeley continued the Assembly and they passed a number of acts. One was to define the enemy Indians as only those taking up arms or "who have abandoned or shall abandon their usual dwelling places without license from the governor or assembly, etc." The Assembly also cleared Berkeley of all charges of oppression and corruption due to his Indian policy.

"God damne my Blood, I came for  
a commission and a commission I  
will have before I goe."

### June 23, 1676

Bacon returned to Jamestown with an army behind him. Berkeley did not have forces to oppose him so he put up no defense at all. Bacon organized his troops around the state house and shouted, "God damne my Blood (a favorite expression of his), I came for a commission and a commission I will have before I goe." Berkeley stood up to Bacon and his mob by refusing the commission and daring them to shoot him down. Bacon continued to taunt the Governor and bargain with him. First demanding only a volunteer commission but, when Berkeley agreed, Bacon changed the demand once again to making him General of all the forces in Virginia.

While Berkeley stood up to Bacon and the rebels, the Burgesses became frightened and intimidated by the boisterous crowd. Bacon declared "Dam my Blood, I'll Kill Governnr councill Assembly and all. . .". The Burgesses caved and joined in the pressure on Berkeley to give Bacon his commission. This was done by altering the Indian Act that had been passed earlier. It was amended by addition of a clause making Bacon "commander in chiefe of the force raised" for the Indian War. Bacon continued to object to the language limiting the war against peaceful Indians but he went away satisfied after making an hour long speech to the Assembly.

### June 24, 1676

Bacon enters House of Burgesses with his guard to add more demands to his list. His demands include:

- Commission against the Indians
- Pardon for all participants
- Letter to the King admitting
- Bacon's acts justified
- Thirty blank commissions for subordinate officers
- Reimbursement of 70 L to compensate Bacon for the lost sloop
- Prohibition against some of Berkeley's friends being appointed to public office
- Demand to know what the Governor had asked from the King.



### **Sunday, June 25, 1676**

As Bacon forced Berkeley to sign the papers justifying his moves, news comes in of eight people killed by Indians deep into the colony. Berkeley uses the moment to request the Burgesses members and he be allowed to leave Jamestown and defend their families.

Throughout the weekend, Bacon's supporters held the town in fear.

### **Monday, June 26, 1676**

Berkeley retires to his plantation at Green Spring. Bacon leaves Jamestown to prepare his Indian campaign. Arranges a rendezvous at the falls of the James River. Sends out scouts to search the forests and swamps for Indians.

### **July 1676**

Citizens of Gloucester County petition Berkeley for protection from Bacon's soldiers who had confiscated all horses, arms, ammunition as well as much food. The depredations left them exposed to Indian attack.

Berkeley went to Gloucester and attempted to raise troops against 'Indians' but the attempt failed as most local citizens suspected the troops were actually to be used against Bacon.

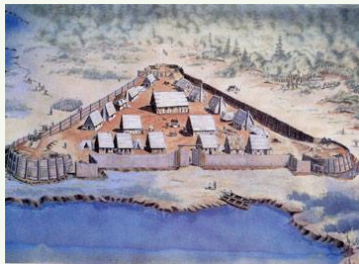
### **July 29, 1676**

Upon hearing of Berkeley's moves, Bacon arrives at Middle Plantation (Williamsburg). Berkeley fled across the Chesapeake to Accomack County which was mostly loyal. Bacon places the deputy governor, Sir Henry Chicheley, in prison for the rest of the rebellion. Approximately 45 prominent families abandon their plantations and follow Berkeley. Bacon's men proceed to plunder all the loyal family plantations.

### **July 30, 1676**

Bacon issues his 'Declaration of the People' and signs it as 'General, by the consent of the people'. The Declaration is actually an indictment that Berkeley had:

- Created unjust taxes under false pretenses
- Appointed cronies to high places
- Monopolizing the beaver trade
- Protecting the Indians and refusing to go against them for their invasions and outrages.
- Forging a petition against Bacon (the Gloucester Petition)



Jamestown

### **August 1, 1676**

Bacon dispatches Bland and Carver with 300 men to take the ships in James River. They succeeded in capturing 3 including that of Captain Thomas Larrimore. Larrimore claimed sympathy to the cause and was allowed to maintain his position as captain. The captured ships were outfitted with canon taken from the fort at Jamestown. There was also a failed attempt to capture the ship of Captain Christopher Evelin before it could sail to England.



### **August 3 & 4, 1676**

Bacon holds a conference at Middle Plantation and presents his Declaration. He also presents a 'manifesto', which includes some statements concerning his Indian policy views. He declares all the local Indians enemies to be exterminated.

Bacon makes preparations to carry the war to Berkeley in Accomack with his new Navy.

Bacon makes first effort at requiring a loyalty oath from his followers. It would have required signers to 'rise in arms' against Berkeley if he came after Bacon. It would also require them to defend Bacon against troops from England 'until the country's cause could be reported to the King'. Most people resisted the loyalty conditions but generally supported his other stuff.

A gunner arrived from York reporting news of pending Indian attack. When questioned as to how an attack could be made so deep into the colony, the man indicated Berkeley had stripped the fort of its guns and put them on his ship to Accomack. Bacon immediately used the information to successfully get the loyalty conditions agreed orally by most of the people.

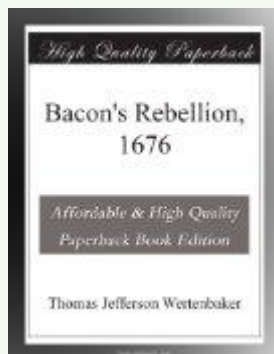
The conference ends with 69 locals signing a document accusing Berkeley of fomenting Civil War by opposing Bacon's efforts against the Indians. All swore they would aid Bacon even against the King's authorities until Bacon's case could be heard in London.

### **August 5, 1676**

Bacon orders Colonel John Washington of Westmoreland County to administer his oath to every freeholder and freeman. If any person refused, they should be named and reported to Bacon. The oath added statement that all people would report what they heard said about Bacon by Berkeley but that they would keep Bacon's secrets. Also that Bacon's commission was lawfully obtained.

### **August 11, 1676**

A notice signed by Thomas Swann, Thomas Beale, Thomas Ballard, and James Bray directed the sheriff of Westmoreland County to summon all freemen to Jamestown for election of Burgessess to be held on September 4, 1676.





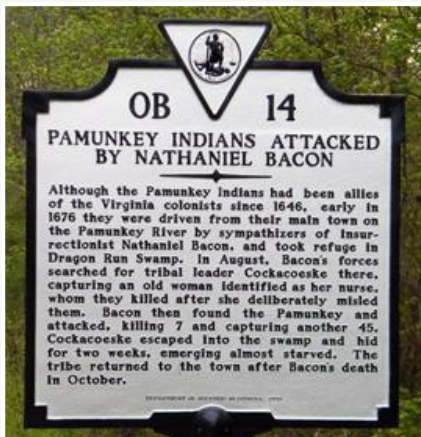
## August 1676

Bacon proceeds to the Falls of the James hoping to find the Susquehannocks but they were hiding in the mountains. He turns north near the upper Pamunkey River and joins with troops from the Potomac and Rappahannock areas under Colonel Giles Brent. Army proceeds into Great Dragon Swamp attempting to locate Pamunkey Indians whom Bacon insisted harbored evil intent against the English.

Bacon tramps around the swamp for a while and experiences discontent among the troops. He gives a stirring speech of devotion to the cause of eradicating the Indians. Part of the troops went home.

Bacon continued looking and found the Pamunkey village. The Queen was gone into hiding but the Indians at the village surrendered without a fight. The army plundered the town and took the forty-five captives. The Queen of Pamunkey later indicated 8 of her people were killed. Bacon stated a larger number in reporting to the people.

Bacon's navy, commanded by Giles Bland, arrives off Accomack with four ships. The original three plus one more seized on the way across the bay. Captain William Carver came ashore with 160 men. Berkeley ordered him to leave but excuses were found to remain overnight. Captain Larrimore sent Berkeley a note around midnight stating there were only 40 Baconians aboard his vessel and he would help the governor recapture it.



Berkeley sent Colonel Philip Ludwell and 26 men to help Larrimore retake his ship. He was an instant success capturing the Captain Bland and 40 rebels. Captain Carver tried to come aboard to investigate the goings on and was himself taken immediately prisoner.

Berkeley pardoned most of the captured men involved along with those who had aided Ludwell aboard the ship. The men were then promised estates from Bacon's followers, 12 pence per day, and freed from church dues for 21 years if they would come and help retake the mainland. Servants were offered a chance to earn freedom.





### September 7, 1676

Berkeley arrives off Jamestown with 300 men. Jamestown was garrisoned by 500 rebels commanded by Colonel Thomas Hansford. Berkeley puts out rumours of having up to 1000 men along with promise of pardon to all who lay down their arms. The rebels panic and flee the city.

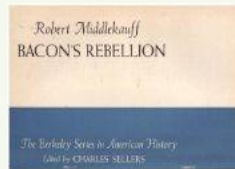
### September 8, 1676

Berkeley enters Jamestown and reorganizes its defense. Names Captain Thomas Gardner 'Vice Admiral of the Fleet now riding at James City'. He authorizes naval actions to seek out and destroy Bacon's forces.

Bacon's forces begin to desert en masse. To stop the desertions, Bacon proclaims liberty to servants and negroes of loyalists who are willing to join him. He then marches to Jamestown with 600 men plus those who had fled Jamestown and were now willing to return. Bacon swears "a thousand of his usual execrable oaths he would put us al to the sword". He reaches Jamestown and besieges the city across the neck of land.

Berkeley had erected a strong palisade across the neck. Bacon saw he could not successfully assault the wall and attempted to draw the governor out instead. He hurled insults and fired at the garrison to no effect. Berkeley ordered his followers not to return fire but sat inside the walls instead hoping the rebels would suffer from lack of supplies and lose their enthusiasm for revolt. Unfortunately, the rebels proceeded to Berkeley's own plantation at Green Spring near Middle Plantation where they supplied themselves at the governor (and other loyalists) expense.

Bacon seized the wives of Berkely and other loyalists. He placed them in front of his troops so that Berkeley couldn't fire on them while they built a deep ditch along the palisade. They lined the ditch with tree trunks for protection. Bacon also placed some captured Pamunkey Indians along the ramparts as visible success of his Indian fighter exploits. Bacon's psychological campaign took effect and many of Berkeley's troops began to doubt the validity of their cause. They were being cast in the role of being against the hero who was protecting the colony from Indian depredations.



### September 15, 1676

His own troops restless from their failure to return fire, Berkeley finds himself obligated to attack the rebels. The loyalists assault Bacon's defense but fail miserably. Heavy fire from rebels causes the loyalists to 'return home with light heels'.

Over the next three days, Berkeley's men became increasingly dispirited. Finally they were overcome with fear (Bacon had begun using cannon against them) and petitioned Berkeley to abandon Jamestown. Faced with total capitulation among his followers, Berkeley sailed away with his remaining loyalists.



### **September 19, 1676**

Bacon and rebels jubilantly enter Jamestown. Once darkness falls, he orders the town burned. The burning is visible around the countryside at Berkeley's estate and to the loyalists aboard ships in the James River.

Bacon receives word Colonel Giles Brent, a former Bacon officer now back on Berkeley's side, is marching south toward Jamestown with a thousand men. Bacon roused his men with an abundance of good cheer and led them out to battle with Brent. No battle took place as Brent's men immediately deserted him upon hearing the news Jamestown burned.

### **September 26, 1676**

Sailing down the James River, Berkeley receives reinforcements from Robert Morris on the merchant ship, *Young Prince*, recently arrived at Newport News.

The ship *Richard and Elizabeth* commanded by Captain Nicholas Pinne also joins Berkeley. They reestablish headquarters in Accomack County on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake.

### **October 1676**

Bacon moves from Jamestown to Gloucester County. He creates an oath of Fidelity and began requiring people to sign. The oath charged Berkeley with desertion while Bacon obtained a 'great victory bringing peace to the land. The oath labeled Berkeley a traitor for opposing Bacon. Rev. James Wadding refused to sign and was imprisoned.

Bacon sent an appeal to the citizens of Accomack promising leniency if they would pay restitution for rebel losses and if Berkeley would be handed over to him along with the loyalist ringleaders. The overlydemanding appeal was ignored by the citizens of Accomack.

Colonel Edward Hill of Charles City County (previously served as governor in 1646) complained to Bacon the rebels were plundering his plantation of all animals, grain, brandy, and wine. Then they beat his pregnant wife and children and tossed them out of the house. His papers and business records were recklessly destroyed thereby ruining him financially. Bacon made attempts to reign in his soldiers but had little success. Bacon himself was suffering from "bloody flux" (dysentery) and a lice infection and was staying at the home of Major Thomas Pate in Gloucester County.

Captain John Lewis who lived on 600 acres near Major Pate in Gloucester County reported suffering severely from depredations by Bacon's troops.

### **October 26, 1676**

Bacon dies of lice and flux. Berkeley wrote "Bacon is dead I am sorry at my heart that lice and flux should take the hangman's part".

Joseph Ingram takes command of the rebels. At least two writers of the period consider Ingram stupid. One called him a fool and the other said "The Lion had no sooner made his exit, but the Ape steps upon the stage."



### **November 1676**

Upon hearing of Bacon's death, Berkeley uses the forces of captains Morris and Pinne to begin military operations in the James River area. Numerous raids and battles result occur. Fifteen men killed one day, thirteen captured another. Rebels occupying Arthur Allen's brick house in Surry County were forced to abandon the premises as loyalists advanced further up the river.

"his usual oath was which he swore at least a Thousand times a day was God damne my Blood and god so infected his blood that it bred lice in an incredible number so that for twenty dayes he never washt his shirts but burned them. To this God added the Bloody flux and an honest minister wrote this Epitaph on him: 'Bacon is Dead I am sorry at my hart, That lice and flux should take the hangmans part.'"

### **November 9, 1676**

Berkeley orders Captain Larrimore to sail the *Loyall Rebecca* into the York River to block off all river traffic thereby preventing Ingram from crossing. Robert Beverly led several amphibious assaults (and overland) against rebel forces scattered at the plantations previously owned by loyalists. They captured Colonel Thomas Hansford while paying "his obligations in the Temple of Venus".

### **November 13, 1676**

Hansford is hanged for taking up arms against the king. He requested to be shot like a soldier and not hanged like a dog. He died claiming innocence in that he only took up arms against the Indians and never against the crown. He was the first rebel hanged.

### **November 21, 1676**

Captain Thomas Grantham arrives with his ship *Concord*. The vessel carries 30 cannon and is instantly in control of the York and James rivers.

### **December 1676**

Grantham sailed back and forth providing a communication line between the rebels and Berkeley. Berkeley made an agreement with the rebels but it was immediately broken "in three dayes time." Grantham was then taken hostage but, within a few days, he had convinced several hundred rebels to put down their arms and accept full pardon. There were 80 negroes and 20 English who refused to lay down their weapons but were foolish enough to go aboard Grantham's ship. He turned his guns on them and had them disarmed and returned to their masters. (they were primarily a mix of slaves and indentured servants)

### **January 2, 1677**

Grantham then went to West Point where the rebels had their central magazine and 300 men. He gave them a barrel of brandy and a loyalty oath. They got drunk, toasted his majesty's health, and went home. On hearing of the loss of West Point, the rebels began to drift away from their leaders.

### **January 11, 1677**

Thomas Hall was captured and faced immediate trial before Berkeley. He confessed to rebellion against the king and was sentenced to hang. Which was done on the spot. Berkeley said he, "dyed very penitent confessing his rebellion against his King and his ingratitude to me."



### **January 12, 1677**

Three more rebels are tried and hung.

### **January 14, 1677**

William Drummond is captured and held in irons. He is tried and executed on the 20th.

### **January 17, 1677**

Robert Boodle and his soldiers were pardoned with promise to lay down their arms.

### **January 20, 1677**

Drummond is hung while Berkeley focused on "Bacon's Parasite", James Crewes. Also wanted Richard Lawrence, Thomas Whaley, and Anthony Arnold whom he called "the chiefe remaining villains".

### **January 24, 1677**

James Crewes and five others are tried for treason and rebellion. Henry West was guilty but spared his life. He was banished and forfeited his property. The others were hung.

### **January 29, 1677**

Two of the commissioners (Berry and Moryson) arrived from England with 1,000 men to put down the rebellion and investigate its causes. It became immediately clear that Berkeley was under scrutiny for accusations thrown at him for behavior both before and after the rebellion. A Lt. Governor (Jeffreys who was also the 3rd commissioner) was on the way and Berkeley was summoned to England.

Berry and Moryson claimed more authority than they actually had and began to bump heads with Gov Berkeley. The claimed the

authority to 'settle' differences in the rebellion instead of only 'investigating' the situation.

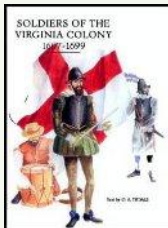
### **February 1, 1677**

The commissioners showed Berkeley a Proclamation from the King they wanted to distribute. It put a price on Bacon's head but promised pardon to all his followers who would lay down their arms in 20 days. Berkeley objected because there was no longer a need for such as he had the rebellion under control and wanted to proceed against more of the rebels.

### **February 3, 1677**

Berkeley butts heads with the commissioners again about the October 27, 1676 Proclamation. Berkeley argues that the King's instructions of October 10 made clear the Proclamation was only to be a tool Berkeley could use in putting down the rebellion and regaining control. Since that was no longer necessary \* \* \*.

The commissioners listen to complaints about Berkeley. They cannot find any substance to accusations of corruption prior to the rebellion. However, they are clearly displeased with the heavy hand used after the rebellion.







### **February 8, 1677**

The commissioners again urge Berkeley to publish the Proclamation and put the people at ease with their fate for participating with Bacon.

The commissioners recommended that seizures of property should stop and let the King rule on them.

Berkeley refused all suggestions and the relationship grew increasingly hostile.

### **February 10, 1677**

Berkeley gives in and publishes the October 27 Proclamation but issues one of his own that excepted some of the rebel leaders from the pardon.

### **February 12, 1677**

Lt Governor Jeffreys arrives and presents Berkeley with his instructions to turn the power of the governor's office over to Jeffreys while Berkeley returned to England. The council then determined Berkeley did not have to resign power until he actually leaves the colony.

### **February 13, 1677**

The Commissioners complain to Berkeley about improper property seizures being carried out by the Governor's servants. Berkeley reminded them that all his livestock had disappeared into the rebellion along with that of the other loyalists. His neighbors knew of the need to take the livestock.

### **February 27, 1677**

The commissioners began to insist upon a 'just peace' with the Indians, reduction in Burgess salaries and withdrawal of their liquor allowance. The Assembly ignored the commissioners. There was no peace treaty but Berkeley and the Assembly had already taken action to restore the peaceful tribes without need for a formal treaty.

### **March 21, 1677**

The Commissioners demanded an accounting of all seizures, fines, and forfeitures. Berkeley's relationship with the commissioners came to an end. He did not answer them again.

### **March 27, 1677**

The Commissioners sent a report to London. They admitted the "generall Grievances are soe few and triviall" that no action was recommended. However, they also blamed Berkeley for causing the difficulties of the place due to his "illegall and arbitrarie Proceedings, as to seizures of Estates of Persons not convicted, since the Cessation of and laying downe of Armes at West Point and upon our arrival." They were unhappy at the governor for coming down hard on the rebels.

### **April 5, 1677**

The commissioners reported Berkeley's refusal to make peace with the Indians and refusal to account for the seizures.



### **April 27, 1677**

Jeffreys proclaims himself governor prior to Berkeley's departure. Berkeley responded with hostility but it really didn't matter as he was preparing to leave for England and personally speak with the ministers about the rebellion.

### **June 1677**

Berkeley arrived in England but was sick when he arrived. He did not get better and did not have an opportunity to see the King. He died on July 9, 1677 having served as governor for 35 years but now under cloud.

### **August 1677**

The Lords of Trade and Plantations met and discussed the rebellion. The Lords took the commissioners reports as correct and declared Berkeley's actions unacceptable. They recommended Berkeley's acts after the rebellion be annulled.

The commissioners returned from Virginia and piled on the blame to Berkeley and the loyalists. Their focus was totally on the aftermath and pretty much ignored the rebellion they were sent to investigate.

### **October 1677**

Mrs. Drummond appeared with a pitiful petition claiming improper confiscation of her property. The Lords were moved by her situation and failed to recognize the lies contained in her petition concerning innocence.

### **November 1677**

The Lords begin to realize the claims being made were fraudulent and stopped allowing them. Left the matter to "further consideration".

### **December 7, 1677**

The King heard the report of the commissioners and a written report done by Berkeley's brother in rebuttal. He said to take no notice of Culpeper's paper and dismissed the commissioners from further duty.

### **January 18, 1678**

The King annulled the acts of seizure and attainder passed by the VA Assembly in February 1677 and pardoned the participants. However, the government of VA could still recover property improperly taken from loyal subjects. The King went on to speak very badly of the rebels whose actions were 'very black' and allowed for future proceedings but subject to his approval. None were ever taken.

### **NOTE on SOURCES:**

Most all of the information in this chronology was taken from these sources:

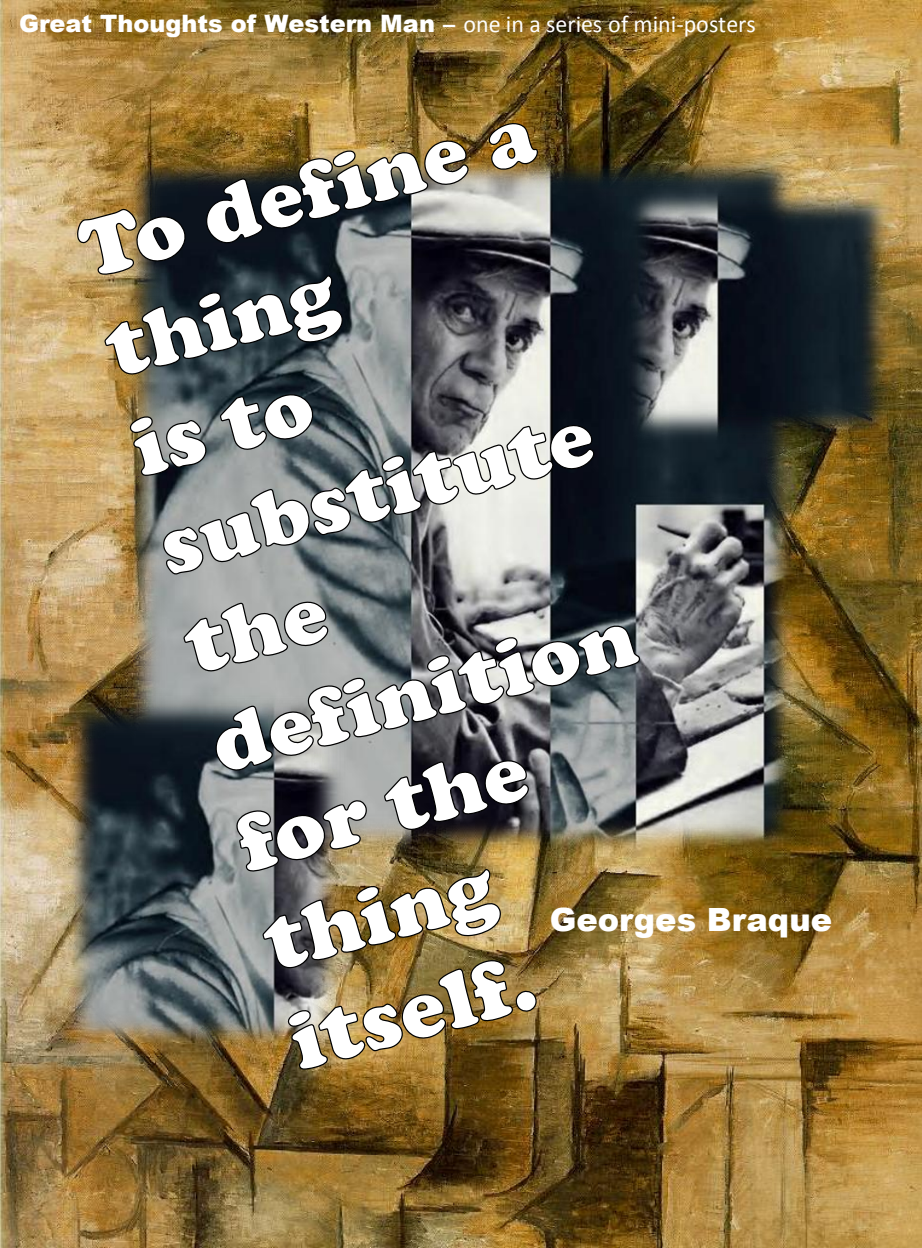
*Narratives of the Insurrections 1675 - 1690*, by Charles M. Andrews

*The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century, a documentary History of Virginia* edited by Warren Billings

*The Governor and the Rebel*, Wilcomb E. Washburn (1957)

To define a  
thing  
is to  
substitute  
the  
definition  
for the  
thing  
itself.

Georges Braque





# Those That Have Influenced Our Passion For History...

by Vivael

I've been reflecting over the past few days, less about what has influenced moments in history, and more about what has influenced my own interest in this multifaceted subject. Since joining these forums in particular, I can't help but notice a trend in the sub-forums and subject headings that pique my interest and compel me to read on. Perhaps it's due to the fact that I can now -see- the trends and the patterns to my reading that gave me pause, combined with the opportunity to consider -why-.

It didn't require too much soul-searching to discover the answers, truth be told. For some, perhaps it stems from a kind word or encouragement from a teacher, or perhaps their interest and direction are entirely self-fueling. For me, very simply: The greatest influence on my love of history would be my father.

Backtrack some few years ago. It would be an early spring day, evidenced by the watery sort of quality taken on by the mid-day sun as it hangs in the sky. A very young version of myself is trotting about in the front yard on an imaginary horse (it was a handsome steed, you simply must trust my memory on this), "helping" my father with some spring yard work.

"The British are coming! The British are coming!" I'm shouting this, continuing to trot about the yard. I cannot tell you with any accurate recollection if I shouted this refrain once, or a hundred times. In my memory, however, I shout it but the once, and the rake in my father's hand becomes still. "We were the British, then," he says. The words are simple, and spoken gently enough. It is the -look- that accompanies the words, however, that made my little, tangle-mopped head stop trotting, and start thinking. What could these enigmatic words possibly mean? I had just watched School House Rock that morning, and I mean – COME ON – it was on the television!



My imaginary horse made its way back to our imaginary stables (and was treated to an imaginary apple, of course), and I asked my father a question or two. We talked, my dad and me, and while I cannot fathom actually comprehending that the world was larger than our farm and fields at that age, it seems to me that something profound occurred on that early spring afternoon.

Fast forward a few years. I am attending school now, and I am -far- more worldly, as is evidenced by the pig-tails and the pencil smudge on my face. Also, if you were to peek into my pencil-case, you will note I have all but forsaken crayons for the oh-so-cool pencil crayons, thank you. It was Remembrance Day, and I'm still wearing my poppy. We had an assembly in the gymnasium at school, and I'm regaling the family with the story of -my- performance (not a solo thing, but with my entire second-grade class. Still, I've got everyone's attention at the supper table, and I'm milking it for all it's worth), and at some point, I mention the old man that came and played the trumpet at the end of the assembly.

"What was the name of the call that he played?" asked my father. I said that I couldn't remember.

"The Last Post."

And then we talked about Grandpa Lloyd, his father, for a long while. This became a Remembrance Day tradition of sorts, in our house. It would be several more years before I came to realize how unique my dad's own childhood must have been.

Born in 1942, a lot of my father's contemporaries had fathers, brothers, cousins and so on, serve in World War II. My father, however, two decades younger than his siblings, separated by his nieces and nephews by only a spare few years...his father, my grandfather, was a veteran of the Great War.



My Grandfather, before going overseas in the Great War, 1916. Like so many others, he lied about his age, and has only just turned 17 at the time of this photo.



“When I was a kid, I was always a little ashamed that he wasn’t at Vimy,” my dad will say, even to this day. The shame now is a different sort, and there is no reasoning with my father about it. That my grandfather was gassed at Passchendaele and spent six months recovering from the experience should have been enough, after all.

In the summer of 2010, I visited the Passchendaele memorial with my father. To say it was an emotional experience for him would be a gross understatement, of course. I was going to share the picture of him signing the Memorial Guest Book at Passchendaele, but I decided that...it was a little -too- personal, to do so.

So, the point of all this? I remember the childhood trips we made to dozens of old and out-of-the-way cemeteries, reading headstones and looking for clues as my father tried to piece together his family tree (sometimes in weather that was less than stellar, too). I remember the trip to the Tecumseh memorial on that Thanksgiving weekend. I remember the hours I spent listening to conversation when family and friends would stop in, and current or past events would be discussed, loudly and colourfully, at the kitchen table. I remember the trips to the nearby Six Nations reserve, and the fact that my father would not fail to remind us of our debt to our First Nations people, either directly, or through retelling of stories. I remember the disgust in my father’s voice as he told us of a man who did great things, but how his own country ignored him for decades, when he spoke of Norman Bethune...

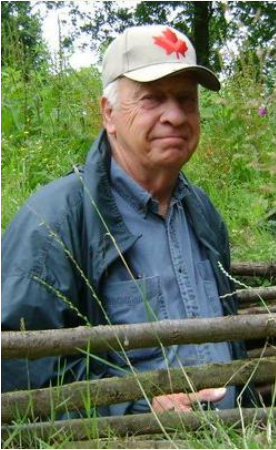
I remember, you see. I remember all of these things and a thousand other moments of greater or lesser importance, and how could this man be anything less than the greatest influence on my love of history? How could he possibly be anything less?

He’s my dad, and he’s an awesome one.

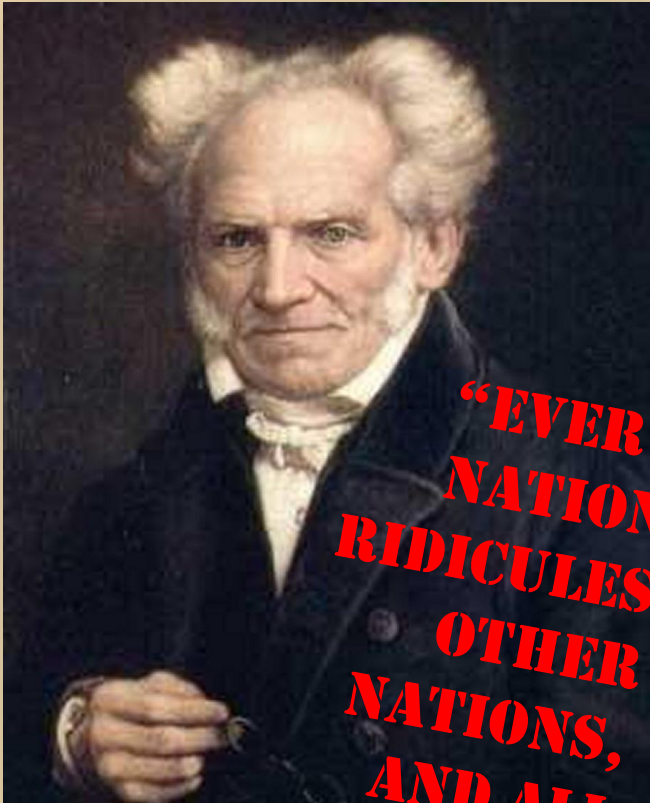
I’m working on an essay about Norman Bethune currently. He is a worthwhile personality to give some exposure to, but certainly the effort is a little dedication to my dad, too.

If you have read this far into the piece, golly. You poor thing. I do not anticipate such personal forays being the norm around here, of course, but if you have a moment and feel the urge, do share your own greatest influence on this subject we both share a passion for?

And thanks for stopping by.



*My Father, after being coaxed into smiling, from one of the trenches on the tour at Bayernwald, 2010.*



- Arthur Schopenhauer

A portrait of Hojo Soun, a prominent figure in Japanese history, depicted in a traditional seated pose. He is wearing a dark, patterned robe over a white garment. The background is a solid, muted brown. The text "Hojo Soun's 21 Articles" is overlaid in a large, white, serif font with a black outline.

# Hojo Soun's 21 Articles

By leakbrewgator

House codes were a common occurrence in Pre-Modern Japan. Nearly every influential family throughout the land had a set of rules that were set down by their patriarch. These codes were usually meant to tell future generations how to tend to their land and govern their provinces properly. Perhaps the most recognizable of these codes are *Hojo Soun's 21 Articles*.

I'll save the discussion of Soun's life (which is incredibly interesting) for a later date. For now, I want to focus on the House codes that he set forth sometime between 1500 and his death in 1519. (Probably closer to his death.) From what I know, there isn't really a full translation of the codes available on the internet. A lot of sites offer a few of the more important articles, or even fragments, but I can't seem to find all of them in whole. So here are the 21 articles in as basic language as I could possibly make it:



**1. Believe in the Buddhas and the Gods.**

**2. Wake up early.** If you don't, you set a bad example for the help. You also will tend to neglect public and private affairs if you sleep in. This will look bad to your boss.

**3. Go to sleep early.** Only bad things happen to people who stay up late. You risk the chance of being robbed and you waste valuable resources keeping the lighting on while you stay awake. Also, wake up early (again) and make sure you tell EVERYONE what to do.

**4. Before you wash up in the morning,** take a look around and see what needs to be cleaned up. Once you do begin to wash up, don't waste water! Also, be quiet while washing up.

**5. Be righteous.** Show respect and sympathy. Be straightforward and keep an open mind.

**6. Be proud of your humble belongings.** If you have any fancy armor and weapons, do not wear them needlessly in front of others.

**7. Fix your hair as soon as you wake up.** Even if you have nothing planned that day, it is best to be prepared for an uninvited guest. Untidy hair shows that you have a weak mind and it will rub off on those around you.

**8. When in attendance with a superior,** do not rush to greet him. Instead, notice your colleagues around you and see how they are dressed. Adjust yourself accordingly. Only then is it ok to see your boss.

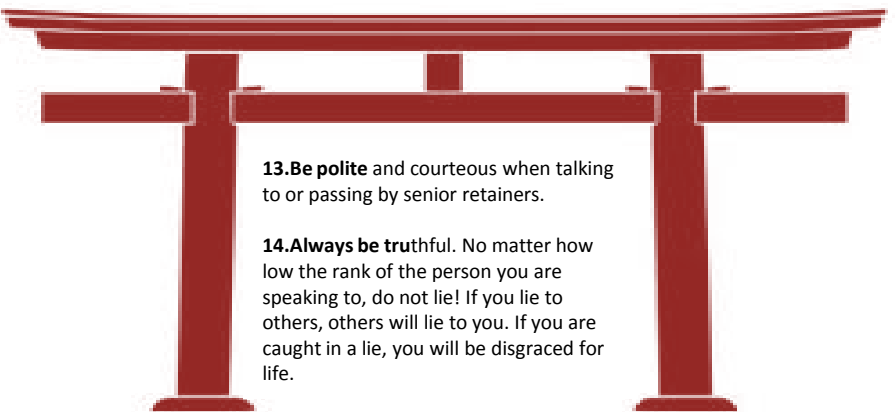
**9. Always show respect to your superior.** When given an order, say "Yes, sir!" and complete the order promptly. Then, turn in a truthful report to your boss without bragging. Also, seek out advice when completing the task, even if you don't need it.

**10. Do not gossip.**

**11. Don't be conspicuous** and meddle in others' affairs.

**12. Always practice reading and writing.**  
Do not let others see what you are reading, however.





**13. Be polite** and courteous when talking to or passing by senior retainers.

**14. Always be truthful.** No matter how low the rank of the person you are speaking to, do not lie! If you lie to others, others will lie to you. If you are caught in a lie, you will be disgraced for life.

**15. Practice poetry.** Be careful when choosing words for your poems as one word can really make you look bad.

**16. Practice horse riding.** Once you master the basics, practice guiding the horse properly.

**17. Choose your friends wisely.** Whether a man becomes good or bad depends on who he associates with. So only hang out with good people.

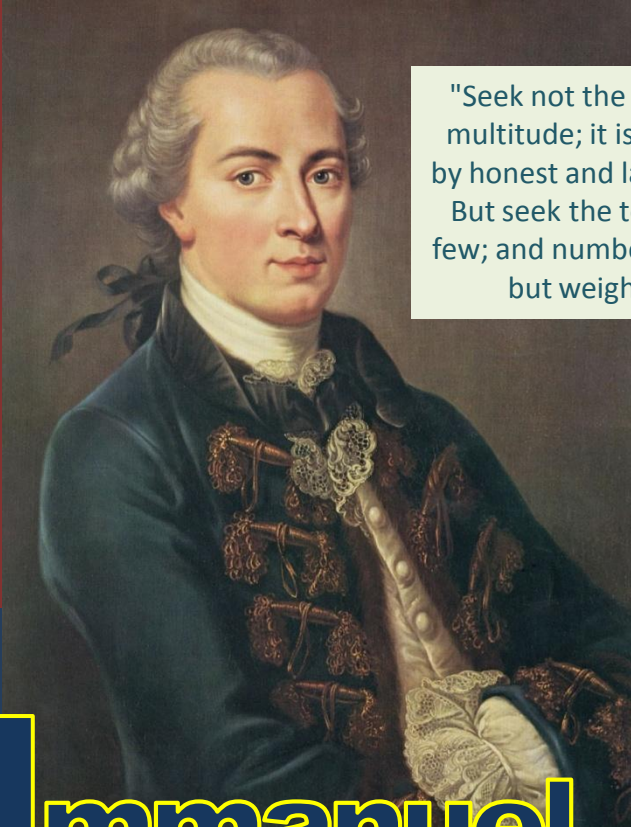
**18. When you get home from work,** walk through you entire house front to back. Check to see if any repairs need to be made to the exterior and interior of your home. Your servants are probably too stupid to realize if something is in disrepair, so you will need to do this on your own.

**19. Keep your front gate closed at night.** Only open it for those who are coming in and out. If you leave the front gate open, bad things will happen.

**20. Check the fires in the house** before you got to bed at night. Make sure there is nothing near them that can catch on fire, and be sure to see that the fires are under control. Do not trust your servants to do this. Also, go behind the women of your house, because they are dumb enough to leave their personal belongings near the fires to catch.

**21. Obviously you need to practice** both the art of peace and the art of war. I really don't even need to emphasize those to you here....





"Seek not the favor of the  
multitude; it is seldom got  
by honest and lawful means.  
But seek the testimony of  
few; and number not voices,  
but weigh them"

Immanuel  
Kant



# **Thoughts on cultural relativism**

By  
**Tuthmosis III**

# Thoughts on cultural relativism

By Tuthmosis III

A student of world history attacks a vast subject, one that can never be "mastered", only "navigated", as Patrick Manning said.(1) The thousand-and-one difficulties encountered in the process of translation - the attempt to retain meaning across languages - alone saddles any effort to comprehend the whole with an irreducible amount of uncertainty.(2) This effort is surely worth it in our emerging global age; we are one human family and, like it or not, we have to find positive ways to deal with each other. Our challenge is that we do not, in fact, handle the differences among us very well. And these differences are very real indeed.

Building a vision of a *human*, as opposed to a more parochial, past requires a constant willingness to examine events and developments from a variety of perspectives. This shifting in points of view is what *relativism* is all about. But two common misunderstandings (all too often perpetuated by those who call themselves relativists) should be clarified.

## 1 - Relativism is not nihilism

Relativity *among* cultures regarding standards and expectations does not translate to the absence of these *within* cultures. The cultural relativist is *not* called upon to reject the values of his own spiritual and social home because they are not "universal". In fact, he is not even required to suspend the value judgments he may be prompted to make. The relativist does not pretend to the non-existent vantage point of complete objectivity. Relativism is simply caution, an acknowledgment that bias is a potential barrier to a true understanding of other times and peoples. When the cultural chauvinist says that all cultures are not equal he usually means that only one culture (his own, of course) is *legitimate*. The relativist knows this is a rather childish view and takes issue with it, but *not* to the equally inaccurate point of insisting that all cultures are the *same* (which, by definition, would no longer be relativism!).

## 2 - Relativism is not multiculturalism

Taking the relativity of culture seriously should lead one to realize that bringing people of diverse ethnic backgrounds together for a common purpose is a world away from attempting to build a *community* where "standards and expectations" are not shared. A community must itself ultimately form a culture, a framework for interaction - if necessary an arena in which conflict can be managed with minimal damage to the social fabric *because the 'rules' are clear to and accepted by all*. It is unrealistic to suppose that a true sense of community can develop where different codes of ethics or basic notions of "right conduct" are allowed to compete with one another. Successful cultures incorporate *individuals* who contribute to it, and whose influence serves to enrich it rather than bring conflict.

(1) *Navigating World History*, Patrick Manning (2003), p. x

(2) *Empires of the Word*, Nicholas Ostler (2005), pp. 1-4: The prologue of this excellent book is illuminating. Before we draw any conclusions about the famous meeting between Motecuhzoma II and Cortes in 1519, we are reminded that the conversation - already hampered by the cultural gap - was filtered through two translators from Nahuatl to Yucatec Mayan to Spanish (Castilian) and back!

# Life under Communism

by Sparta



There are many discussions in the Forum about the Communist times about different aspects of life under the regime or about the policies of the regime. I decided start a series of post under the blog about how the Communism was seen from inside, more specifically life under Ceausescu in Romania. There are enough materials on the web about the history of different regimes but I think the personal experiences are also valuable. The time is flying and I think the direct testimonies must be there in order not to forget what happened.

I was born in 1968 one month after the invasion of Czechoslovakia and I did not leave Romania until 1991 so I have more than enough first hand experience. In the first post I will make a short description of how I felt the evolution of the system.

The regime was really breathable (by Communist standards) from 1965 until mid 70's (I know this especially from my parents). Many people who were adult in that time told me that Romania was nearly competing with Hungary for the title of the "happiest barrack" in the Communist block. The censorship was there but it was not oppressive, the secret police existed but once it was not aggressive and small manifestation of dissent were tolerated. Some people were even able to go abroad and work under the condition that they will return. It was a bit of the politics used by Hungarian communists "who is not against us, is with us".

... time is  
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happened.



Of course any real opposition such as creation of associations or clandestine printing would have been crushed mercilessly. The only really repressive measure adopted was the interdiction of abortions between 1968 – 1972 and the severe repression of those involved in clandestine abortions. It generated cohort of kids born in those times, like myself. Most of them were suspected of being unwanted children so we were called decretei (the decrees children).

Another annoying measure was the attempt to ban smoking in public places, but that was because Ceausescu hated smoking (the guy was visionary; it did not become a world policy until late 80's).

By 1974/1975 the situation began to change for the worse. The leash was becoming tighter, the food shortages started to be more frequent but still it was considered as OK, especially by the people who have seen the real Stalinist terror of 1949 – 1963.

As a kid in those times I remember seeing my parents more and more irritated every day, the life becoming harder and the people becoming more and more concerned. Meanwhile the stupid cult of personality was more and more present. In May 1980 when 15 years of his reign were celebrated the new course was very clear. We were reverting back to a Stalinist cult of personality with Ceausescu as it's' center.

The leash  
was  
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food  
shortages  
started to be  
more  
frequent ...

The whole decade of the 80's was a nightmare. The regime was ruled by incompetent politruks getting rid of the economists who succeeded to maintain a bearable level of life in 60's and 70's. Because Ceausescu regarded the foreign debt as a threat to his personal power he took the fatal (for the ordinary Romanian) decision to switch to a war like economy in order to reimburse the debt. That meant that the food was rationed (products like sugar, cooking oil, milk, and even bread in some parts of the country). My father told me that even during WW 2 the food in Romania was not a problem the way it was after 1984-1985.

The electricity for domestic consumption was switched off for some hours every day and the circulation of the private vehicles was forbidden during the winter time. During the other nine months the cars could circulate but on Sundays there were restrictions: one Sunday the car with even number, one Sunday the car with odd number.

In the meantime Ceausescu started his "grandiose" plan of rebuilding the country. He destroyed the little that was left of the oldest part of Bucharest. I think this mutilated Bucharest hopelessly for the next century.

The media was dedicated to the cult of personality. The anti abortion policy was restarted in 1984 with even more

draconian measures against clandestine abortions. The secret police was now even more present and spread rumors about the fact that it has an extensive network of informers thus "resistance is futile". However it stopped of sending people in prisons or executing them. As far as I remember the means used to crush dissent were the isolation of the troublesome people, the setting up of ordinary criminal trials instead of political trials (for instance in 1989 in order to punish the journalists who were trying to publish a clandestine newspaper, they were tried for illegal detention of US dollars, a crime under the communist regime), the social marginalization (exclusion from university for students, compulsory transfer in another place for the people who were working).

**He destroyed  
the little that  
was left of  
the oldest  
part of  
Bucharest.**

Either  
they  
were  
bribed  
or they  
were  
turning  
a blind  
eye ...

It was crazy; the world entered the globalization and Romania which was a reasonably open society in 60's and 70's was moving to the path of North Korea. There was one decree that was making the unauthorized contact with foreign citizens a punishable offence.

The 80's mutilated the Romanian psyche already scarred after the "social engineering" of the 1950's. In order to ease the restrictions we learned how to bribe the officials or the people who were the bosses of the shops who were selling food. For instance my father was getting the powder milk for my sister by bribing a pharmacist. Then he met one guy who was working in an alimentation magazine and he bribed him in order to get meat for us (meat was not rationed it was theoretically to be found in stores; it was seldom available thus the shorter way was to bribe the guys who were working in the distribution system). Black market became common and the law enforcement could not break it thus it became involved in it. Either they were bribed or they were turning a blind eye in order to exploit the profiteers as informers. The almighty fear of informers was making us suspicious towards unknown people. All these left us a demoralized nation and part of the reasons for which Romania fared worse than other former communist countries.

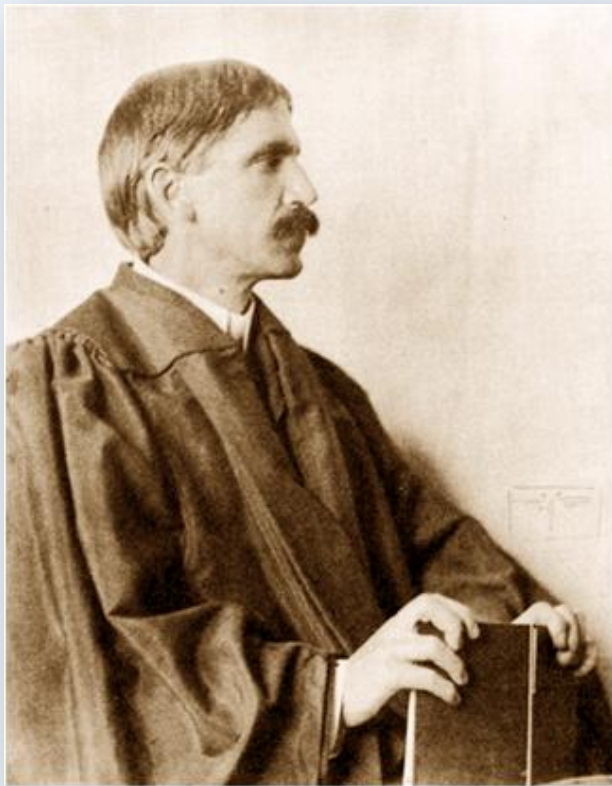
The regime was however unable to fear us after a while and in December 1989 it was overthrown. As most Romanians we loved to see Ceausescu killed. The ones who took over and are still running Romania are mostly communists who only hated Ceausescu and who even tried to block the establishment of a multi-party system in 1990.

This however belongs to another chapter of the history, the transition period.

END

**“The only way to abolish war is to  
make peace seem heroic.”**

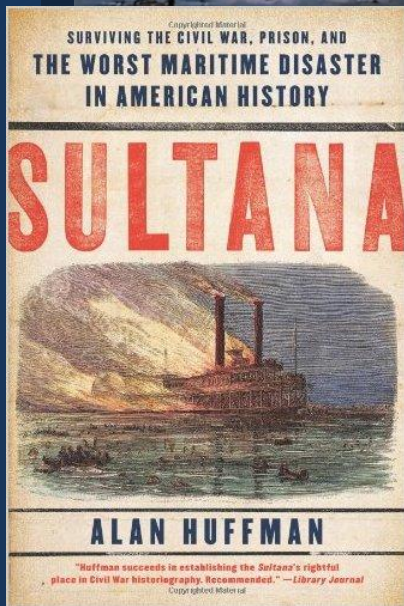
**- John Dewey -**



## BOOK REVIEW



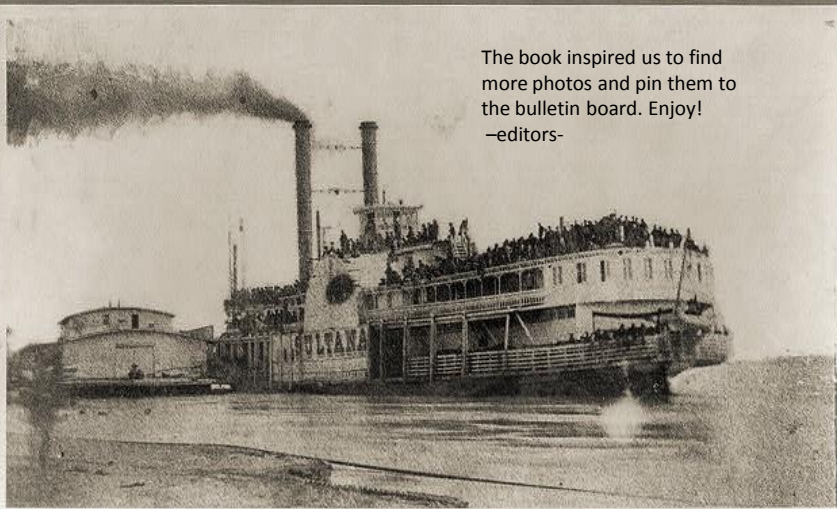
In April 1865, the steamboat *Sultana* slowly moved up the Mississippi River, its overtaxed engines straining under the weight of twenty-four hundred passengers—mostly Union soldiers, recently paroled from Confederate prison camps. At 2 a.m., three of *Sultana*'s four boilers exploded. Within twenty minutes, the boat went down in flames, and an estimated seventeen hundred lives were lost.



The worst maritime disaster in American history, the sinking of the *Sultana* is a forgotten tragedy lost in the turmoil of the times—the war's end, the assassination of President Lincoln, the pursuit of John Wilkes Booth. Alan Huffman presents this harrowing story in gripping and vivid detail and paints a moving portrait of four individual soldiers who survived the Civil War's final hell to make it back home. Huffman tells the tale with skill and sensitivity.



Below is a photo of the overcrowded *S.S. Sultana* taken hours before its sinking. (photo credit Library of Congress.)



The book inspired us to find more photos and pin them to the bulletin board. Enjoy!  
—editors—

The S.S. Sultana left New Orleans on April 21, 1865 with passengers and goods, and even though boiler leaks were discovered in Vicksburg (and hastily repaired) it proceeded to board 2,000 more. With close to 2,400 passengers the ship was grossly overloaded. These were Union soldiers going home after the Civil War .

The Sultana stopped at 1:00 pm in Memphis for more makeshift repairs on her boilers, then left. About 7 miles downriver, three boilers exploded with tremendous force, burning passengers and hurling them into the river .

It is believed that as many as 1,800 passengers died – making it a worst tragedy than the *Titanic* sinking which happened 47 years later when 1,500 passengers were lost – but the story of the *Sultana* is still not well known.

This tragedy occurred 13 days after President Lincoln was assassinated and one day after Booth was shot. Most newspapers of the day were a one sheet folded to make four printed pages, this space limitation was one reason the Sultana tragedy didn't receive more media attention.



Sultana survivor  
**Jesse M. Huffaker**  
 Co. D, 3rd US Cavalry



**Survivors of the SS Sultana**  
 Photograph possibly taken on July 4, 1916, on  
 the occasion of the 3rd U.S. Cavalry reunion



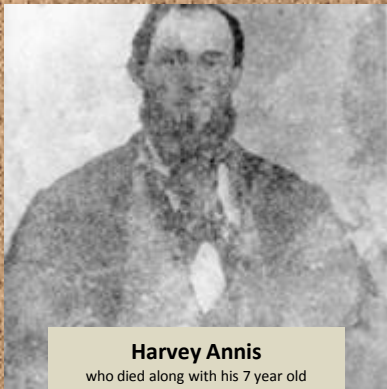
**Caleb Rule**  
 was 24 years old at the time  
 of the sinking of the Sultana.  
 He survived due to being a  
 great swimmer and lived to  
 become a preacher at  
 several churches in Sevier  
 and Blount counties. He lived  
 to the age of 72. His 20 year  
 old brother John who could  
 not swim drown in the icy  
 waters and his body was  
 never found.

**John H. Keeble,**

Co. A, US 3rd Cavalry who died on  
 the SS Sultana. He did make it off  
 the ship, but being a poor  
 swimmer, he drown in the freezing  
 waters of the Mississippi and his  
 body was never recovered.

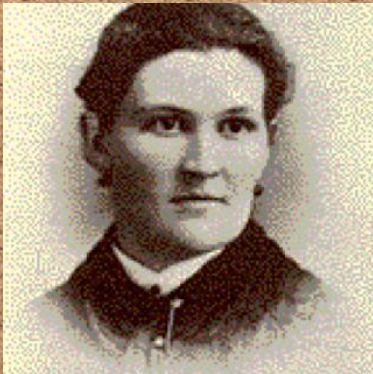


Sultana survivor  
**John H. Simpson**



### **Harvey Annis**

who died along with his 7 year old daughter, Belle, after jumping from the Sultana into freezing waters. Only his wife Ann Annis survived.



### **ANN, aka ANNA**

#### **VESSEY LAIRED SIMS ANNIS**

a native of Liverpool, England moved to the states after her first 2 husbands who were ship captains died at sea. She was on board the Sultana with her 3rd husband Harvey and 7 year old daughter Belle. She was the only survivor of the 3 and one of only a couple of women survivors. The bodies of her family were never found.

A copy of the deposition given by Ann Annis of her account of the events that took place is as follows:

Mrs. Ann Annis

Widow of Lt. Harvey Annis, 51 U.S.C.T.

Being duly sworn testifies as follow:

11 May 1865

*I embarked with my husband on board the steamer Sultana at Vicksburg on the 24th Ult. My husband was not a paroled prisoner but had resigned. Sometime during the night when both of us were awake, we heard a loud noise, something like the rattling of iron. My husband immediately got up, then looking into the cabin seeing that there was a considerable steam there, and fearing that it would come into the stateroom, he closed the door and tried to open the one leading out to the guards, but this was jammed by something, and someone outside said we are all stove in. My husband then put a life-preserver upon me and one upon himself, and took me and my child to the stern of the boat. He let himself down to the lower deck with the child, and I followed him, but as I was descending the rope a man from above jumped on me and knocked me into the hold of the vessel. From this I was extricated, and my husband, with our child, jumped overboard. I followed as soon as I could but the life-preserver was not placed on me right and I held onto the rudder till I was obliged to let go by the fire.*

*While I remained there I heard a second explosion which seemed to be made up of three great reports like the explosion of shells or gunpowder. By this explosion there seemed to be a great deal of fire thrown all over the water about the boat to a considerable distance from her. I was obliged to take to a small piece of board and upon this I was saved. Great fear was felt by everybody on account of the large number of passengers and the boat being top heavy. The clerk or mate pointed out to my husband and myself the sagging down of the hurricane deck in spite of extra stanchions which were put in a great many places. The boat was very much crowded, but the men behaved very well indeed. There was no carousing or quarrelling, and only little moving about. The boat was perfectly quiet at the time of the explosion and was running very smoothly and not fast.*



### Pleasant Keeble

jumped into the river and use a portion of a wheelhouse to get away. Gene Salecker, in his book "Disaster on the Mississippi, said an African-American man on the bank extended a pole to Keeble, pulling him to safety.

An East Tennessee Sultana survivors' group met annually on April 27 until 1928, when four survivors were left. Then on March 4th, 1931 the last survivor Pleasant M. Keeble died at the age of 85.

After the War, in addition to farming, Pleasant Keeble was well known as a builder of chimneys.

### He Keeps Solemn 65-Year-Old Tryst Alone



Pleasant Marion Keeble, 84-year-old veteran of the Civil War, journeyed the distance of eight miles to Rockford, Tenn., to keep a promise made 65 years ago with Civil War buddies, all of whom are now dead. When the Sultana, prison ship, sank near Memphis in the Mississippi River, April 21, 1865, the Tennessee Federal soldiers who were saved in the disaster, which cost 1,828 lives, decided to hold an annual reunion. The 84-year-old veteran is now the sole survivor.

International Newsweek



**A man that  
pets a catfish  
isn't crowded  
with brains.**



African folk saying





# Locke

on the Problems of Democracy:

An Evaluation of Liberty and Despotism

by Arete

Alexis de Tocqueville was a 19th century liberal who observed the paradoxes of a world that had undergone vast change in a short period of time. Born in 1805 in France, Tocqueville belonged to an aristocratic family and rose to prominence in French society as a Judge and a political theorist. In 1831, Tocqueville left France to study the penitentiary system of the United States of America. Tocqueville viewed the democratic society of the United States with the skeptical eye of an aristocrat and legal expert, and published his studies in *Democracy in America*. In “Tocqueville on the Problems of Democracy”, Tocqueville argues that democracy is a form of government that claims to empower the people, but in which despotism is inherent through the unrestrained power seemingly granted to the majority. He argues that Democracy is the ‘tyranny of the majority’, which maintains despotism in the administrative sphere while the citizens become subservient in between elections. Tocqueville suggests that placing appropriate boundaries on the powers of the majority and government would curb their tyranny.

Tocqueville does not oppose democracy itself, but the excess of power held by any group or individual where the “germ of tyranny is there.” He begins with the statement that he regards “it as an impious and detestable maxim that in matters of government the majority of a people has the right to do everything, and nevertheless I place the origin of all powers in the will of the majority.” Therefore, he is not criticizing democracy but the free reign it theoretically allows the majority, to the harm of the minority. This democracy, according to Tocqueville, is too arbitrary. He argues that a wronged minority can not turn to public opinion, legislative body, executive power, the police or a jury because they all serve the majority which might not understand or wish to oppress the said minority. To further prove his point, Tocqueville provides a footnote recounting a riot in Baltimore during the War of 1812, where a mob attacked the editors of a newspaper opposed to the war, citing this as a “striking excess to which despotism of the majority may led.” Tocqueville is concerned about the danger of mob rule and argues that the potential for tyranny still exists under democracy.



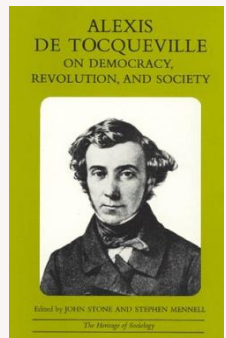
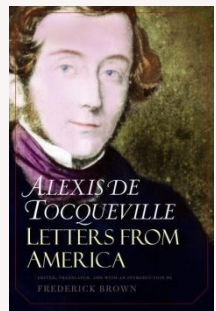
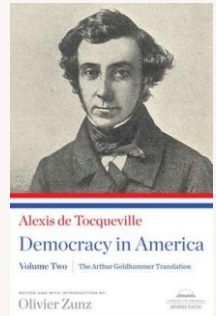
Alexis-Charles-Henri Clérel de Tocqueville (French: [aleksi(s) də tɔkvil]; 29 July 1805, Paris – 16 April 1859, Cannes) was a French political thinker and historian best known for his *Democracy in America* (appearing in two volumes: 1835 and 1840) and *The Old Regime and the Revolution* (1856). In both of these works, he explored the effects of the rising equality of social conditions on the individual and the state in western societies. *Democracy in America* (1835), his major work, published after his travels in the United States, is today considered an early work of sociology and political science.

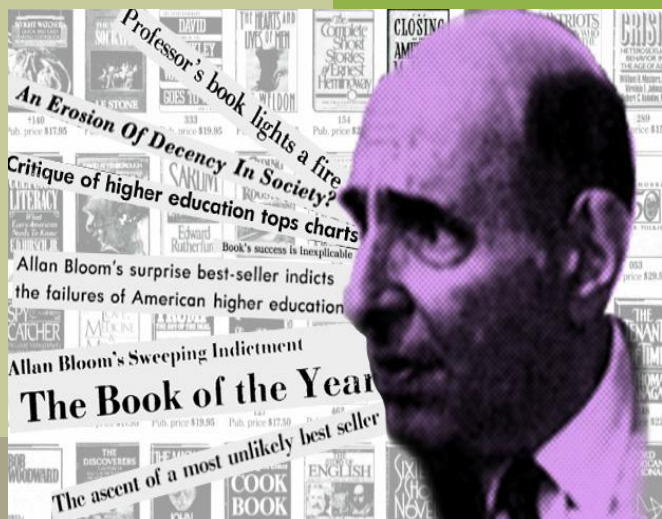
Tocqueville then addresses the form of despotism, other than that of majority, which is to be feared in democratic nations. Tocqueville notes that citizens in democracy desire both freedom and guidance and attempt to satisfy both desires by merging them. The democratically elected government must be all-powerful, a fact that Tocqueville viewed as an inherent hypocrisy in the democratic system. Under the perception that elections ensure liberty, Tocqueville noted that “Each individual lets them put the collar on, for he sees that it is not a person, or a class of persons, but society itself which holds the end of the chain.” Furthermore, Tocqueville observes that elections do place power in the populace, which he views as a brief exercise in freedom. Therefore the politicians alternate between ruling the majority, or being ruled by them. The people are “turned alternatively into the playthings of the sovereign and into his masters, being either greater than kings or less than men.” Democracy has not liberated the population, but enslaved them with masked despotism.

Tocqueville suggests that the solution lies in setting boundaries to power. No person or group must hold the bulk of power. Justice, according to Tocqueville, is the law “adopted, not by the majority of this or that people, but by the majority of all men...Justice therefore forms the boundary to each people’s right.” A truly democratic society would adhere to such justice. Tocqueville suggests creating a legislative body able to represent but not serve the majority, a powerful executive body, and an independent judicial power as the solution. Tocqueville does not elaborate on this solution, and nor does he address any possible problems that may result, but he claims that in this system would preserve democracy, and there “would be hardly any remaining risk of tyranny.” Therefore, Tocqueville’s solution is to place checks and balances on democracy, which he thought, were lacking in the democratic system of the United States.

Alexis de Tocqueville was a liberal political theorist who grappled with many problems facing society in the 19th century. In “Tocqueville on the Problems of Democracy” he argued that democracy had not liberated society from despotism, but enabled it. For Tocqueville, the tyranny embodied itself in the majority and the administrative sphere of American government forcing the people to alternatively become active during elections then reinforcing their passivity. Tocqueville’s solution lay in justice and enforcing boundaries of the power of the majority, restricting what he referred to as the ‘germ of tyranny.’

The books to read are...





# Alan Bloom

In fact, it is Shakespeare  
who gives us the map of the mind.  
It is Shakespeare who invents Freudian Psychology.  
Freud finds ways of translating it into supposedly  
analytical vocabulary.

# WANTED BILLY THE KID

DEAD OR ALIVE

by Wintersorg



William Henry McCarthy ( 23 November 1859 – July 14, 1881), more commonly known as William H. Bonney, or Billy the Kid, was born of Irish settlers, who came to the USA during the great famine. It is not known with certainty who his father was, but we do know his mother was called Catherine McCarthy, and that she remarried to a certain William Antrim (which would be the source of one of the Kid's aliases: Henry Antrim).



She died, of tuberculosis, when William was 14 years old. He was taken in by the Truesdell family, who had just bought a hotel/restaurant where he worked for his keep. Ironically, despite the desperado image we have of Billy the Kid, the manager said the young boy was the only one who ever worked for him that didn't steal. His school teachers also dismantled the myth of his personality, with one saying "the young man was no more a problem than any other boy. He was even quite willing to help with the chores around the schoolhouse". His brother Joseph was placed with the owner of a local club, a man named John Dryer, and continued to lead an honest life thereafter.

When the Truesdells started having problems, McCarthy sought his fortunes elsewhere. He went from small job to small job, without ever staying at the same place for a long time. It was during this time he was arrested twice, once for stealing cheese (April 1875) and a few months later again for the supposed theft of clothing and firearms from a Chinese immigrant. He escaped jail on that second occasion and was now officially a fugitive (though it was highly unlikely there'd have been much searches for a petty thief, whose biggest crime was stealing from a "Chinaman")

In 1876, he met John Mackie, in Arizona. The two became involved in horse thievery, which was highly profitable.

In 1877, Billy the Kid (who was at that time mostly known by the local people as "Kid Antrim", because of his youthful appearance and slight build), shot the blacksmith Frank Cahill. This was the first of his 4 victims.

Frank Cahill's killing was considered unjustifiable by the law officers, even though most witnesses say it was self-defense: the blacksmith was a bully and often took



pleasure in tormenting young McCarthy. On that fateful day, another of the bullying episodes ended more violently when Cahill threw the young man to the ground, intent on beating him up. The Kid drew his gun and shot his tormentor.

Regardless of eyewitnesses, he was now considered a murderer, and fled to New Mexico, in fear of reprisal.

Here he worked together with several bands of cattle thieves. Ultimately, he ended up in the house of a certain Heiskell Jones (apparently near death after Apaches stole his horse and he had to walk many miles before encountering the first sign of civilization) He was nursed back to health by this family, and left them (with a horse they gave him). It's presumably around this point he started calling himself William H. Bonney.

In 1877, Bonney was involved in what would become part of his lasting fame: the Lincoln County War.

The Lincoln County War originally started as a business conflict between two groups: the first one consisted of two established merchants: Lawrence Murphy and James Dolan. The second one consisted of merchants who came later: John Tunstall and Alexander Mcswen.

While the Lincoln county war and events could justify an entire essay themselves (which I may do at a later time), it's enough for now to say that the conflict soon turned from businesslike to violent. When Tunstall was murdered by a group of men, who were working for Murphy and Dolan (one of these goons was local sheriff William Brady).

Mcswen did the necessary to obtain arrest warrants for the men responsible, and so a



deputized group was formed, with the intent of arresting the men responsible. This group called itself "the regulators". The Kid was part of this group.

After being deputized, the regulators arrested two of the men responsible for the murder of Tunstall. But these two men, Bill Morton and Frank Baker, never made it back to Lincoln alive. They were shot while escaping. The Regulators also shot one of their own men there, a certain William McCloskey (who had supposedly betrayed the regulators).

On April 1 1877, the violence flared up once more: 6 regulators, among which there was Billy the Kid, ambushed William Brady and his deputy George Hindman. Both of them were killed in Lincoln main street.

On April 4th, the regulators were involved in a gunfight with Buckshot Roberts, whom they suspected in the involvement of the murder.

These last incidents did negatively influence public opinion towards the Regulators, however. They were now considered just as bad as the man they went up against.

The Regulator's position only worsened when the Dolan faction ended up allying with the US Cavalry. A few more violent episodes followed (which I'll also detail in a separate essay about the Lincoln County War), but the "war" ended when McSween was killed, and the remaining regulators became fugitives. Lew Wallace, Governor of New Mexico (also known as the writer of Ben Hur, and as a not so competent Civil War Commander), offered amnesty to those involved, but not indicted in the Lincoln County War.

The Kid was indicted, but tried to obtain some measure of peace in another way: in exchange for amnesty, he'd testify. Wallace



*Dan Dedrick, friend of Billy*

accepted, and McCarty agreed to remain in jail for the time of the testimony. Wallace broke his word however and didn't free McCarty, so after the Dolan trial, McCarty escaped together with his close friend Tom O'folliard.

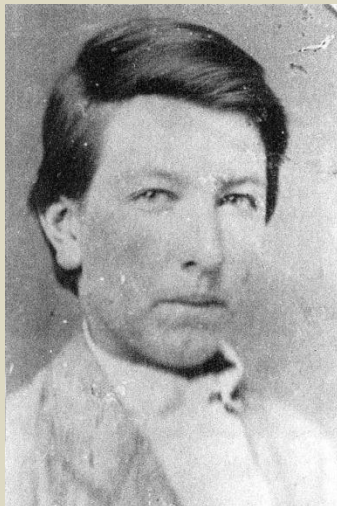
For the next year and a half, the Kid remained on the run for the law. In 1880, he killed someone for the second time (while he was involved in a few gunfights, there are only 4 deaths which can be attributed to him with certainty). This time it was a man called Joe Grant. The man reportedly boasted how he would kill Billy the Kid if he encountered him, unaware that the Kid was next to him .

McCarthy asked to see the gun with which he would do it. When Grant complied, McCarthy rotated the cylinder so it was on an empty chamber. He then handed back the gun and told Grant his real identity. The man took his gun and tried to shoot, with no effect, since it was an empty chamber...McCarthy then shot the man.

By November 1880, another name comes into the story: Pat Garret, who was elected sheriff of Lincoln County in November 1880. He set out with a posse to capture Billy the Kid.

He came near on December 19. However, the Kid managed to escape, but not without any cost: his good friend Tom O'Folliard was killed. On December 23, the Kid and his gang were tracked to an abandoned building near Taiban, where they were surrounded by the posse. Realising they had no food, and no hope of escape, the gang surrendered.

Billy The Kid was imprisoned in Santa Fe, where he remained for a few months. During that time, he tried to make Lew Wallace make good on his promise of amnesty, to no avail.



*Billy's good friend Tom O'Folliard*



He was sentenced to be hung, with the penalty taking place on May 13, 1881. But again, The Kid surprised everyone by killing both of his guards (James W. Bell and Bob Olinger) with a hidden gun, before escaping. Based on Rumours, Garrett set out to Fort Sumner, where the Kid was reportedly hiding. On July 14th, Garret was questioning one of the Kid's friends ( a man named Pete Maxwell), when Billy the Kid unexpectedly entered.

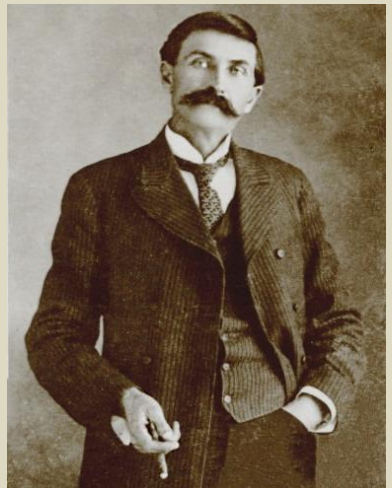
The official story said that when he entered, he did not recognize Garrett and drew his gun, while saying "who is it?" in Spanish. When Garret recognized the voice of the kid, he drew his gun and shot him twice. One bullet hit him in the heart and he died one minute later.

The other version that is told however, and which is probably more accurate, goes as follows: The Kid entered, armed only with a knife, on his way to the kitchen. When he noticed shadows moving, he said "who is it?". Garret said nothing and shot him.

Whatever the truth may be: the Kid was dead. He was buried in Fort Sumner, between his two longtime friends and allies: Charlie Bowdre and Tom O'Folliard.

While his life ended there, his legend only started. 130 years later, Billy the Kid is one of those enduring legends of the Old West. Years after his death, a few men even claimed to be him (one of these men, named Brushy Bill Roberts, was even the basis for the movie "Young Guns II"). In a final twist of irony, Billy the Kid has become some kind of a folk hero, with Pat Garrett taking on the role of the villain in the story.

END

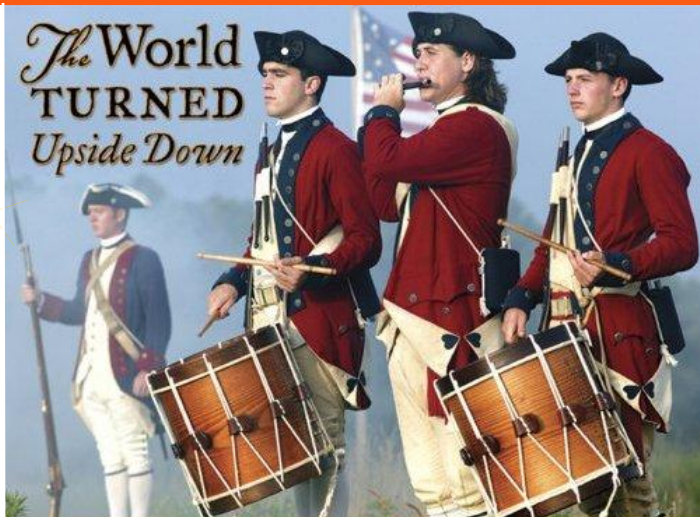


*Sherif Pat Garret*





On one fine day in musical history . . .



The popular tune  
**The World Turned Upside Down**  
may or may not have been played at  
Yorktown when Cornwallis surrendered  
to Washington.

What the tune lacks in musicality it  
makes up in poignant, if nonsensical,  
lyrics; reason enough for the song to  
be forever associated with the  
Yorktown surrender.



## On one fine day in musical history. . .

The 1828 edition of Garden's *Anecdotes of the Revolution* is responsible for the much-repeated statement that, following surrender, the forces of British General Charles Cornwallis marched out of Yorktown, Pennsylvania, with their bands playing a piece called "The World Turned Upside Down," and implied that the tune was played frequently throughout the war years. The only thing that can be said with certainty is that a piece of music by this name did exist—in fact, there were several tunes known by this name—and that at least one of them was popular during the Revolution. It also seems certain that various pieces of music were played during the surrender ceremonies, and that bands and pipers participated, not just drummers.

Commager and Morris report that "the version which has the strongest support in tradition and which . . . we would like to believe was played, appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1766, beginning 'Goody Bull and her daughter fell out'" (where the words are reproduced but not the music). Nothing about "the world turned upside down" appears in the words of this song, however. The same authorities give another song for which a case has been made, and in which these words do appear:

*If Buttercups buzzed after the bee, If boats were on land, churches on sea,*

*[If] Summer were spring and the t'other way round, Then all the world would be upside down.*

Freeman has examined this mystery with assistance from the Music Division of the Library of Congress. He reproduces the score of a piece titled "When the King Enjoys His Own Again," from which numerous other songs and ballads were adapted, including one called "The World Turned Upside Down."

According to the Library of Congress, Freeman's suggested score is generally assumed to be the tune played at the Yorktown surrender, and Freeman furnishes additional support for this theory. According to Bass, the British soldiers were amused by this choice of music, "for they knew the tune as the old Jacobite serenade to Prince Charlie: 'When the King Enjoys His Own Again'!"

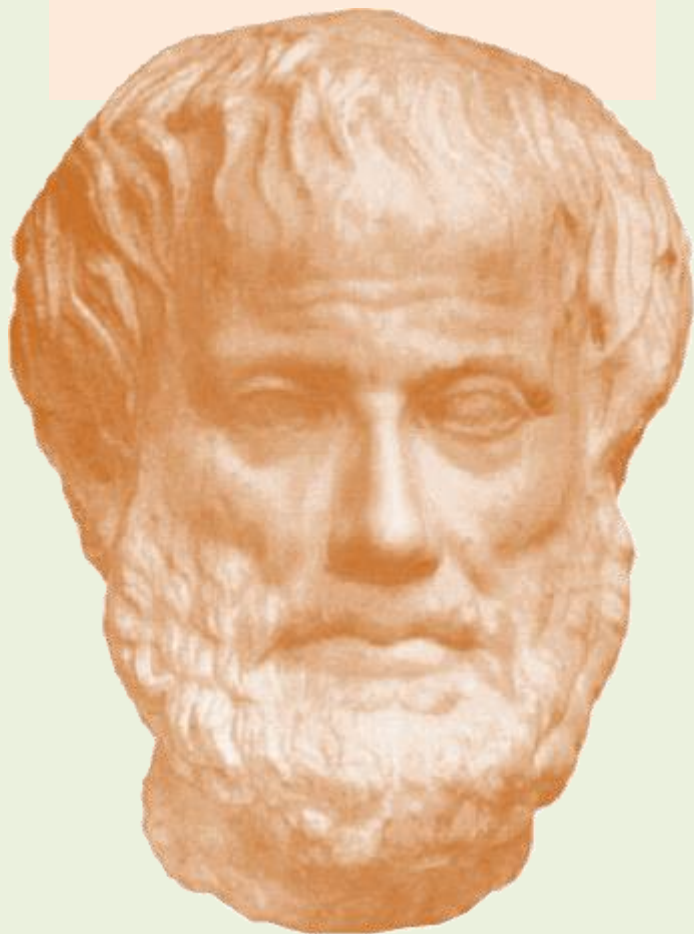
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Commager, Henry Steele, and R. B. Morris. *Spirit of 'Seventy-Six*. New York: Crown, 1958.

Freeman, Douglas Southall. *George Washington*. New York: Scribner, 1948–1957. Garden, Alexander. *Anecdotes of the American Revolution*. Charleston, S.C.: A. E. Miller, 1828.

**Plato never said:**

You want fries with that?



What wasn't he thinking?



## **WE GOT YOU COVERED LAWYER STUFF**

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